THE HISTORY OF THE Life and Death OF Sr. *THOMAS MORE*, Lord High Chancellor OF ENGLAND. IN King *HENRY* the Eights time.

Collected by J. H. *Gent.*

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To my worthily most honoured Kinſman,

C. HODDESDON Eſq;

DEAR SIR,

BEſides the Obligation I have to you by Nature, your Goodneſſe hath given you the greateſt intereſt that may be in my Time and Studies; of which if I have made any improvement, it is purely the Product and Influence of your Favour: The ſenſe hereof hath made me prefix your Name to this Endeavour of mine; upon no other deſign then to make a publick profeſſion that my ſelf and ſtudies hold

of you as of the chief Lord. And if the pettineſſe of what I tender you here, be apt to diſable the juſtice of mine acknowledgments, you can inform your ſelf that a Roſe or a pound of Cummin, hath often been all the Rent-ſervice that hath been reſerved upon Eſtates of no inconſiderable value.

That, that I here preſent you with, is the Life of Sir Thomas More, one of the greateſt Ornaments of the Law, a man of thoſe high employments, and ſo great parts to go through them, that he can be no ſtranger to you, nor doubt of a kind reception, eſpecially ſeeing you are of as eminent courteſie as parts. I ſhall not venture to give any fur-

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ther Character of him, or commend him to you, but rather on the contrary expect that he will plead the boldneſs of my Dedication, *and aſſure my ſelf a favourable acceptance of my poor labours from his vaſt worth.*

Sir I have dealt with him as his Nurſe did, thrown him over the hedge into your Armes, leſt his memory ſhould periſh in the waters of Lethe: *Or as ſome common Souldier, who, if he have but common civility, finding ſome perſon of great quality lying amongſt the dead bodies and ready to become one of them, will make a ſhift with a rude charity to lugger him out of the field, and think himſelf ſufficiently*

rewarded with the honour of preſerving his life: I, (as I travelled over the Memorials of the ancient Heroes *) met with this worthy Knight breathing his laſt in the field of honour; and an ordinary ſenſe of humanity ingaged me (though unworthy that office) to reſcue him from oblivion; unhandſomely I confeſſe, but excuſably, becauſe I could no better, my weak capacity, in the very beginning of this enterprize, being overwhelmed with the plenty and copiouſneſſe of the ſubject.*

I am confident, King Henry *the Eighth was not ſo much his enemy, as to forbid poſterity to think well of him; nor his Sentence ſo*

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severe, as to condemne his Name as well as his Body, to an execution; his Name no more deserved to die, then my pen does to preserve it; yet (which affords me some comfort,) what the Reader wants in this Book, hee'l find in his Life; with which also (I hope) I have a good plea for the inconsiderablenesse of any thing, which I can offer in return of all those obligations you have been pleased to lay upon mee; which since I am never able to wipe off by strict and punctual satisfaction, I presume your goodnesse will by a favourable acceptation hold me discharg'd in Chancery:

I am Sir your most affectionate
Kinsman, to serve and honor you,

J. H.

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THE HISTORY OF S^r. *THO. MORE.*

CHAP. I.

1 *Sir* Thomas Mores *Parentage.*
2 *The place, and year of his birth.*
3 *His education, first studies and employments of youth.*

SIR *Thomas More* was the only son of Sir *John More* Knight, and one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, a man singular

S. *Thomas Mores* parentage.

singular for his many rare perfections, which are set down by his son in his Epitaph extant among his Latin Works: *Cambden* reports of him for proof of his pleasantnesse of wit, that he would compare the *great number of women* to be chosen for wives unto a bag full of *Snakes*, having amongst them but one *Eel*; now if a man puts his hand into this bag, he may chance to light on the *Eel*, but 'tis a hundred to one if he be not *stung with a Snake*. Many such witty similitudes he used both in his private discourses and publique auditory, by which and many other his perfections of wit and grace, one might guess that this child was likely to prove singular, having so worthy a father.

The place and time of his birth.

Sir *Thomas More* was born at *London* in *Milkstreet*, (where his father for the most part dwelt) in the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and eighty, and in the twentieth year of

of *Edward* the fourth: Shortly after whoſe birth, was there this preſage of his future eminency. His Nurſe riding with him over a water, the Horſe ſtept aſide into a deep place, and put both her and the child in great danger of their lives; but ſhe endevouring ſuddenly to prevent the harm of the Infant, threw it over a hedge into a field near adjoyning, and afterward by Gods aſſiſtance eſcaped ſafe herſelf. When ſhe came to take him up again, to her amazement ſhe found him to have no hurt at all, but the Babe ſweetly ſmiled upon her.

An evident danger ſtrangly eſcaped in his infancy.

Wherefore his father (as ſuppoſing him ſent into the world for ſome great end) was much the more careful of his education, and ſo put him to the Free-ſchool of *London*, called St. *Anthonies*: where after he had been brought up in the Latine tongue, his father ſhortly after procured him to be recived into the houſe

His firſt ſtudies, & employment

In S. *Anthonies* School in *London*.

of the Right Reverend Prelate Cardinal *Moorton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*: where though he was young of years, yet would he in the *Chriſtmas* time ſuddenly ſometimes ſtep in among the Players, and never ſtudying for the matter, make a part of his own there preſently, amongſt them which was ſo witty and full of Jeſts, that he alone made the lookers on more ſport then all the Players beſide: in whoſe wit and towardneſſe the Cardinal much delighting, would often ſay of him to the Nobles that ſeveral times dined with him, *This child here waiting at the Table, whoſoever ſhall live to ſee it, will prove a marvellous man.*

In Cardinal *Moortons* houſe.

His towardlineſs in the Cardinals retinue.

Whereupon for his furtherance in learning he placed him in *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*, (now called *Chriſt Church*) where when he was both in the Greek and Latine tongue ſufficiently inſtructed; he was then for the ſtudy

The Cardinal ſendeth him to *Oxford*.

ſtudy of the Law put to an Inne of Chancery called *New-Inne*, where for his time he very well proſpered. He is ſent to *New-Inne*.

And from thence was admitted to *Lincolns-Inne* with very ſmall allowance, continuing his ſtudy there until he was made and accounted a worthy Utter Barriſter. And then to his commendation he for ſome time read a publique Lecture of S. *Auſtin*, *De Civitate Dei*, in the Church of S. *Laurence* in the *Old Jury*, whereunto there reſorted Dr. *Groſcin* an excellent man, and others of the moſt learned of the City of *London*. Then was he made Reader of *Furnivals-Inne*, ſo remaining by the ſpace of three years and more, after which time he gave himſelf to devotion and prayer in the *Charter-houſe* of *London*, religiouſly living there without vow about four years. To *Lincolns-Inne*. His publique Lectures upon S. *Auſtin*, *De Civitate Dei*.

Chap. II.

1 *Sir* Thomas Mores *marriage.*
2 *His firſt preferments.*
3 *His danger in King* Henry *the ſevenths Reign.*

Sir *Thomas More* his marriage and firſt wife.

NOw about this time there lived a pleaſant Gentleman (and of an ancient Family) of *New-hall* in *Eſſex*, by name M. *John Colt*, who ſeveral times invited him to his houſe, being much delighted in his company, and proffered him the choice of any of his daughters, three young Gentlewomen of very good carriage and complexion; whoſe honeſt converſation and vertuous education enclined him there eſpecially to ſet his affection: and although he moſt deſired the ſecond daugh-

ter,

ter, for that he thought her the faireſt and moſt handſome, yet when he conſidered that it would be both a great grief, and ſome blemiſh alſo, to the eldeſt to ſee her younger ſiſter preferred before her; he then of a kind compaſſion framed his fancie toward her, and ſoon after married her, never the more diſcontinuing his ſtudy of the Law at *Lincolns Inne*, but ſtill plying the ſame until he was called to the Bench and had read twice, which is as often as any Judge of the Law doth read; and to which few but rare and ſingular Lawyers do ever attain. Before which time he had placed himſelf and his wife in *Bucklersbury* in *London*, where he had by her one ſon and three daughters, in vertue and learning brought up from their youth: whom he would often exhort to take *vertue* and *learning* for their *meat*, and *play* but for their *ſauce*.

Choſen out of a charitable compaſſion againſt his own inclination

His rare knowledge in the law.

His children by her.

K. *Henry* the 7. offended with Sir *Tho. More.*

In the latter end of King *Henry* the ſevenths Reign a Parliament was called, wherein Sir *Thomas More*, ere ever he had read in the Court, was choſen Burgeſſe: there was then demanded by the King one Subſidie and three Fifteens for the marriage of his eldeſt daughter the Lady *Margaret*, that then ſhould be, (as indeeed ſhe was ſhortly after) the Queen of *Scots*; when the conſent of the Lower Houſe was demanded to theſe impoſitions, moſt of the reſt either holding their peace, or not daring to ſpeak againſt them (though very unwilling to grant them) Sr *Thomas* making a grave ſpeech, argued ſo ſtrongly why theſe exactions were not to be granted, that thereby the Kings demands were cleer overthrown and his requeſt denyed, ſo that one Mr. *Tyler* of the Kings Privy Chamber being preſent thereat, went immediately from the Houſe and told his Majeſty, that a beardleſs boy had

He croſſeth the K. in Parliament in an unjuſt impoſition.

fruſtrated

fruſtrated all his expectations: whereupon the King being very much incenſed at him, would not be ſatisfied until he had ſome way revenged it.

Sir *John More* the father impriſoned to be revenged on the ſon.

Now foraſmuch as he nothing having, nothing could loſe; the King deviſed a cauſeleſs quarrel againſt Sir *John More* his father, keeping him in the Tower until he had made him pay to him a hundred pounds fine: hereupon it fell out that Sir *Thomas More* coming in a ſuit to Doctor *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, one of the Kings privie Councel, the Biſhop called him aſide, and pretending great favour to him, promiſed him that if he would be ruled by him, he would not fail to reſtore him again into the Kings favour; meaning (as it was afterward conjectured) to cauſe him thereby to confeſſe his offence againſt the King, that ſo his Highneſſe might with the better colour have occaſion to revenge his diſpleaſure againſt him:

Bad counſel given by a politique Biſhop.

Avoided by counſell of the Biſhops Chaplain,

But when he came from the Biſhop he fell into diſcourſe with one Mr. *Whitford* his familiar friend, (then Chaplain to that Biſhop, and after a Father of *Sion*,) and related to him what the Biſhop had ſaid, deſiring his advice therein; who for the Paſſion of God, prayed him in no wiſe to follow his Counſel; For my Lord, my Maſter (ſaid he) to ſerve the Kings turn, will not ſtick to conſent to his own fathers death. So Sir *Thomas* returned to the Biſhop no more, and had not the King ſoon after dyed, he was determined to have gone over Sea, becauſe that being in the Kings indignation he thought he could not live ſecure in *England*, and therefore he ſtudyed the *French* tongue at home, ſometimes recreating his tyred ſpirits on the Viol, where he alſo got moſt of the liberal Sciences, as *Muſick*, *Arithmetick*, *Geometrie* and *Aſtronomie*, and grew to be a perfect Hiſtorian.

He retires to his quieter ſtudies.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

1 *His integrity in the profeſſion of the Law.*
2 *The beginning of his favour with King* HENRY *the eighth.*
3 *The firſt honors beſtowed by King* HENRY *the eighth upon Sir* THO. MORE.
4 *He is made Speaker of the Lower Houſe of Parliament.*

AFter this he was made one of the Under-Sheriffs of *London* (ſome ſay, Recorder; but moſt the other) by which Office and his learning together (as he hath been heard to ſay) he gained without grudge of conſcience at the leaſt 400 *l. per annum*:

He is made one of the Under-Sheriffs of *London*.

His plentifull but honeſt gains.

num: Since there was at that time in none of the Kings Courts any matter of importance in Controverſie wherein he was not of Councel with one of the parties, chooſing the juſteſt ſide, and therefore for the moſt part he went away victorious: and ſuch was the eſtimation which (for his learning, wiſdom, knowledge, and experience) men had of him, that before he was come to the ſervice of King *Henry* the eighth, at the ſuit and inſtance of the Engliſh Merchants, he was by the Kings conſent made twice Ambaſſadour in certain great cauſes between them and the Merchants of the *Steel-yard*; whoſe wiſe and diſcreet dealing therein, to his high commendation, when the King underſtood, he cauſed Cardinal *Woolſey* (then Lord Chancellour) to procure him to his ſervice, which although the Cardinal according to the Kings requeſt, laboured earneſtly with him to effect; among many other his

His integrity in his profeſſion of the Law.

The beginning of Sir *Tho. More*'s favour with K. *Henry* the 8.

his perſwaſions alleadging unto him, how dear his ſervice muſt needs be unto his Majeſty, who could not with his honour allow him leſſe then he ſhould yearly loſe by changing his former eſtate; but that rather he would enlarge his fortunes, and recompenſe him fully. Yet he loath to change his condition, made ſuch means unto the King by the Cardinal to the contrary, that his Majeſty for that time was well ſatisfied to forbear him.

Warily at the firſt declined by S. *Th. More.*

Now it fortuned ſhortly after that a great Ship of the Popes arrived at *Southampton*, which the King claiming for a forfeiture, the Popes Embaſſadour by ſuit unto his Grace, obtained that he might for his Maſter the *Pope* have Councel learned in the Laws of this Kingdom, and the buſineſs in his own preſence (being himſelf a ſingular Civilian) in ſome publique place be openly heard: At which time there could none of our Law be found ſo fit to be

of

By pleading for the Pope againſt the King, he makes him one of his Privy Councell.

of Councel with this Embaſſador as Sir *Thomas More*; who could report to the Embaſſadour in Latine all the reaſons and arguments by their learned Councel on both ſides alleadged. Upon this the Counſellors on either part in preſence of the Lord Chancellour and other the Judges in the Star-chamber had audience accordingly. Where Sir *Thomas More* not only declared to the Embaſſadour the whole ſenſe of all their opinions, but in defence on the Popes ſide argued ſo learnedly, that both the foreſaid forfeiture was reſtored to the Pope, and himſelf among all the hearers, for his juſt and commendable demeanor therein, ſo greatly renowned, that now for no intreaty would the King any longer be induced to forbear his ſervice: at whoſe firſt entry thereunto, he made him Maſter of the Requeſts (having then no better place void) and within a Month after Knight, and one of his

Sir *Thomas More* knighted.

his privie Councel, and ſo from time to time advanced him, continuing ſtill in his ſingular favour and truſty ſervice twenty years and above: during a good part whereof the King uſed upon Holy days, when he had done devotions, to ſend for him into his Travers, and there ſometimes in *Aſtronomie*, *Geometrie*, *Divinity*, and ſuch other faculties, and ſometimes of his worldly affairs to ſit and conſer with him; and at other whiles in the night would he have him up into his leads, there to diſcourſe with him of the diverſities, courſes, motions and operations of the Planets. And becauſe he was of a very pleaſant diſpoſition, it pleaſed the King and Queen after the Councel had ſupt, to call for him to be merry with them, whom when he perceived ſo much to delight in his talk, that he could not once in a moneth get leave to go home to his wife and children (whoſe company he moſt deſired)

The familiarity of K. *Henry* with Sir *Thomas*.

Diſcreetly leſſened by Sir *Thomas* himſelf.

deſired) and that he could not be abſent from the Court two days together, but that he muſt be ſent for again; He much miſliking this reſtraint of his liberty, began thereupon ſomewhat to diſſemble his nature, and ſo by little and little to diſuſe himſelf from his former mirth, that he from thenceforth at ſuch times was no more ſo ordinarily ſent for. Then one Mr. *Weſton* Treaſurer of the Exchequer dying, the King of his own offer, without any asking, freely gave his office unto Sir *Thomas More*.

Sir *Thomas* made Treaſurer of the Exchequer.

In the fourteenth year of his Majeſties Reign, was there a Parliament held, whereof Sir *Thomas More* was choſen Speaker: who being very unwilling to take that place upon him, made an oration (not now extant) for his diſcharge thereof. Wherennto when his Highneſſe would not conſent, he ſpake unto him in manner following.

He is by the K. choſen Speaker of the Lower Houſe of Parliament,

A Summary of his First Speech in Parliament.

SInce I perceive (most renowned Soveraign) that it is not your Majesties pleasure to reform this Election and cause it to be changed. but have by the mouth of the Right Reverend Father in God the Legat your High Chancellour, thereunto given your assent, and have of your great goodnesse determined far above my deserts or abilities, to repute me worthy this so weighty Office, rather then you should seem to impute unto your Commons that they had unmeetly chosen me; I am therefore, and always shall be ready obediently to conform my self to the accomplishment of your high Commands, most humbly beseeching your most noble Majesty, that I may with your Graces favour, before I further enter thereinto, make my

Who was then Cardinal *Wolsey.*

His first request to the King.

my humble interceſſion to your Highneſs for the grant of two lowly Petitions, the one privately concerning my ſelf, the other this whole Aſſembly. For my ſelf, (gracious Soveraign) That if I ſhould chance hereafter in any thing that is in the behalf of your Commons, to miſtake my Meſſage, and for lack of good utterance, by my miſ-reporting, pervert or impair their prudent inſtructions; It may then pleaſe your moſt Noble Majeſty, of your abundant grace to pardon my ſimplicity, giving me leave to repair again to them, to confer with them, and to take their more ſerious advice what thing, and in what manner I ſhall on their behalf ſpeak before your Highneſs; that ſo their prudent adviſes and affairs be not by my folly hindred or prejudiced: which thing if it ſhould happen (as likely it were in me) if your graces goodneſſe relieved not my overſight, it would not

fail

fail to be during my life, a perpetual grudge and heavineſſe to my heart. The help and remedy whereof in manner aforeſaid remembered is (moſt gracious Soveraign) my firſt humble ſuit unto your Majeſty.

His ſecond requeſt.

My other humble requeſt, (moſt excellent Prince) is this, Foraſmuch as there be of your Commons here (by your high Commandment) aſſembled for your Parliament: a great number which (after the accuſtomed manner) are appointed to treat and conſult of the common affairs amongſt themſelves apart; and albeit (moſt dread Soveraign) that according to your prudent adviſe, by your honourable Writs every where declared, there hath been as due diligence uſed in ſending up to your Highneſſe Court of Parliament, the moſt diſcreet perſons out of every quarter that men could eſteem worthy thereof; whereby it is not to be doubted, but that there is a very able Aſſembly

ſembly of wiſe and politique perſons: yet (moſt victorius Prince) ſince among ſo many wiſe men, neither is every man wiſe alike, nor among ſo many men like well-witted, every man like well-ſpoken: And it often happeneth that as ſometimes much folly is uttered in painted poliſhed Speech; ſo many, though rude in language, are of ſound judgements, and prove the wiſeſt Counſellors: And ſince alſo in matters of greateſt importance the minde is often ſo taken up in them, that a man rather ſtudies what to ſay then how; by reaſon whereof the wiſeſt man and beſt ſpoken in a whole Countrey fortuneth ſometimes, his minde being fervent in the buſineſs, ſomewhat to ſpeak ſo, as he he could afterwards wiſh to have been uttered otherwiſe, and yet no worſe will had when he ſpake, then when he would ſo gladly change. Therefore (moſt gracious Soveraign) conſidering that in all your

High

High Court of Parliament nothing is treated of but matter of weight and importance concerning the Kingdom and your own Royal eſtate, it could not fail to hinder and put to ſilence many of your diſcreet Commons from giving their advice and counſel, to the great hinderance of the common affairs, except that every of them were utterly diſcharged of all doubt and fear how any thing ſpoken among them ſhould be taken of your Highneſſe. And in this thing your well known and approved clemency puts every man in very good hope; yet ſuch is the weight of the matter, ſuch the reverend dread that the timorous hearts of your natural Subjects conceive towards your Highneſſe, (our moſt undoubted Soveraign) that they cannot in this point reſt ſatisfied, except your gracious bounty therein declared, put away the ſcruple of their timorous mindes, and animate and encourage them from all

doubt: may it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty (our moſt gracious King) of your great goodneſſe, to pardon freely, without doubt of your dreadful diſpleaſure, whatſoever ſhall happen any man to ſpeak in the diſcharging of his conſcience, interpreting every mans words, how unſeemly ſoever couched, yet to proceed of good zeal to the proſperity of the Kingdom, and the honour of your royal perſon; the happy eſtate and ſafety whereof, (moſt excellent Soveriagn) is the thing, all we your moſt humble loving ſubjects, according to the moſt bounden duty of our natural allegiance, moſt highly deſire and pray for.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

1 *Cardinal* Wolſey's *propoſition in Parliament fruſtrated by Sir* THO. MORE.
2 *Sir* THO. MORE *made Chancellour of the Dutchy of* Lancaſter.
3 *His gentle diſpoſition on all occaſions.*

AT this Parliament Cardinal *Wolſey* was much offended with the Burgeſſes thereof, for that nothing was ſo ſoon done or ſpoken therein, but that it was immediately blown abroad into every Ale-houſe. It fortuned after this, that a very great Subſidie was demanded, which the Cardinal fearing it would not paſſe the lower Houſe, reſolved for the furtherance of it,

Cardinal *Wolſey's* entry into the Parliament.

it, to be there preſent himſelf: before whoſe coming, after long debating, whether it were better but with a few of his Lords, (as the general opinion of the Houſe was) or with his whole train royally to receive him there among them: *Maſters*, ſaid Sir *Thomas More*, *for as much as my Lord Cardinal not long ſince, as ye all know, laid to our charge the lightneſſe of our tongues, for things ſpoken out of this Houſe; it ſhall not, in my judgement, be amiſſe to receive him with all his pomp; his Maces, his Pillars, his Pole-axes, his Croſſes, his Hat and Great Seal too; that ſo if he blame us hereafter, we may be the bolder to excuſe our ſelves, and lay it upon thoſe that his Grace bringeth hither with him.* Whereupon the Houſe wholly agreeing, he was received accordingly; where after he had in a ſolemn Oration, by many reaſons, proved how neceſſary it was the demands there moved ſhould be granted, and further, ſhewed

His motion to the lower Houſe.

that

that leſſe would not ſerve the Kings turn; who ſeeing the Houſe ſilent, anſwering nothing thereunto, and contrary to his expectation, ſhewing in themſelves no inclination towards his requeſt, he ſaid unto them, *Maſters, You have many wiſe and learned men among you, and ſince I am by the Kings own perſon ſent hither unto you for the preſervation of your ſelves, and all the Kingdome; I think it fit you give me ſome reaſonable anſwer.* But when every man ſtill held his peace, then he ſpake in particular to one Mr. *Murrey*, afterwards Lord *Murrey*, who making him no anſwer neither, he ſeverally asked the ſame queſtion of divers others accounted the wiſeſt of the Houſe: to whom when none of them all anſwered any thing, being before ahreed, as the cuſtome was to make anſwer by their Speaker. *Maſters*, ſaid the Cardinall, *unleſſe it be the manner of your Houſe (as very likely it may) by your Speaker only in ſuch caſes to expreſſe your mindes, here*

Fruſtrated by Sir *Th. More.*

is without doubt a marvellous obſtinate ſilence: and thereupon he required anſwer of Mr. Speaker, who firſt reverently upon his knees excuſed the ſilence of the Houſe, as abaſhed at the preſence of ſo noble a perſonage; and after [by] many probable arguments proved, that for them to make anſwer, was neither expedient nor agreeable with the ancient liberty of the Houſe: in concluſion for himſelf he declared, that though they all had truſted him with their voices, yet except every of them could put their ſeverall wits into his head, he alone in ſo weighty a matter was not able to make his Grace ſufficient anſwer. Whereupon the Cardinall diſpleaſed with Sir *Thomas More*, that had not in this Parliament in all things ſatisfied his deſires, ſuddenly aroſe and departed; and afterwards in his Gallery at *White-hall* in *Weſtminſter*, uttered unto him all his grief, ſaying, *Would to God Mr.* More *you had been*

Who pleaſantly and wittily diverteth the Cardinals diſpleaſure.

at

at Rome, *when I made you Speaker: Your Grace not offended, ſo would I too my Lord,* ſaid Sir *Thomas*: and to put it out of the Cardinalls head, he began to talk of that Gallery of his, ſaying, I like this Gallery of yours, my Lord, better then your other at *Hampton-Court*. With which ſo wiſe digreſſion, he broke off the Cardinals diſpleaſant talk, ſo that at that time he ſaid no more to him.

He obtaineth againſt him not to be ſent Lieger Embaſſador into *Spain*.

But yet afterwards in revenge of his diſpleaſure, he counſelled the King to ſend him Embaſſador Lieger into *Spain*, commending unto his Highneſſe his wiſdome, learning, and fitneſſe for that employment, and the difficulty of the Cauſe conſidered, he ſaid there was none better able to ſerve his Grace therein; which when the King had broken to Sir *Tho. More*, and he had declared unto his Majeſty how unfit a journey it was for him to undertake, the nature of the Countrey, and diſpoſition of his complexion ſo diſagreeing,

that he was never likely to do his Grace acceptable ſervice therein, knowing for certain, that if his Grace ſent him thither, he ſhould ſend him to his grave; yet nevertheleſſe ſhewing in himſelf a readineſſe according to his duty (although with the peril of his life) to fulfill his Majeſties pleaſure therein: the King allowing well his anſwer, ſaid unto him, *It is not our meaning Mr.* More *to do you hurt, but to do you good we would be glad; we therefore will think of ſome other, and imploy your ſervice otherwiſe.*

He is made Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter.*

And ſuch entire favour did the King bear him, that he made him Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, upon the death of Sir *Richard Wingfield* who had that office before.

Sir. *Tho. More's* judgement of K *Henrie's* extraordinary favour.

King *Henry* took ſo great pleaſure in Sir *Thomas* his company, that he would ſuddenly ſometimes come to his houſe at *Chelſey* to be merry with him; whither on a time unlooked for, he came and dined with him, and after dinner

dinner in a fair garden of his, walked about an hour, holding his arm about his neck: As ſoon as his Grace was gone, his ſon-in-law Mr. *Rooper*, rejoycing thereat, told him how happy he was whom the King had ſo familiarly entertained, as he had never ſeen him do to any before, except Cardinall *Wolſey*, whom he ſaw his Majeſty once walk with arm in arm: I thank our Lord, ſon *Rooper*, ſaid he, I finde his Grace my very good Lord indeed, and I beleeve he doth as ſingularly favour me as any ſubject within this Kingdome; yet ſonne *Rooper*, I may tell thee, I have no cauſe to be proud of it, for *if my Head would winne him a Caſtle in* France, (for then there was war between us) *it would not fail to go off:* By which words he evidently ſhewed how little he joyed either in the Kings favour, or in his worldly honour, who knew well King *Henrie*'s nature, that what ſhew of friendſhip ſoever he made to any, yet

he loved none but for his own ends.

His courteous behaviour in the midſt of his honours.

Sir *Thomas More* though in great honour and favour with his Prince, was not therefore puft up with pride, diſdain, or arrogancy, but was of ſuch a milde behaviour and excellent temper, that he could never be moved to any paſſion or anger, as his ſon-in-law witneſſeth, who affirms, that in ſixteen years time and more, that he dwelt in his houſe, and was continually converſant with him; he could never perceive him ſo much as once in a paſſion: and one *Margaret Gigs* (who was brought up with Sir *Thomas* his children, and uſed no otherwiſe then one of them) being a ſingular learned woman, ſaith, that ſometimes ſhe would commit a fault for the nonce, to hear Sir *Thomas* chide her, he did it with ſuch gravity, ſuch moderation, ſuch love and compaſſion.

His meekneſſe in reprehending.

His meekneſſe alſo was very perſpicuous in this; if it had fortuned

ned him with any learned men reſorting to him from *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, or elſewhere (as there did divers come for deſire of his acquaintance; ſome for the famous report of his wiſdome and learning, and ſome for ſuits of the Univerſities) to have entred into diſputation (wherein few were comparable to him) and ſo far to have diſcourſed with him therein, that he might perceive they could not without ſome inconvenience hold out much further argument againſt him; then leſt he ſhould diſcourage them, as he that ſought not his own glory, ever ſhewing himſelf more deſirous to learn then to teach, he would by ſome witty invention break off into ſome other matter and give over.

Patience joyned to perfection.

Upon a time the Water-bailiffe of *London* (ſometime his ſervant) hearing, where he had been at dinner, certain Merchants liberally to rail againſt his old Maſter, was ſo diſcontented at it, that

he haſtily came to him and told him what he had heard, and; Were I, ſaid he, in ſuch favour and authority with my Prince as you are, ſuch men ſurely ſhould not be ſuffered ſo villainouſly, and falſely to miſreport and ſlander me: wherefore I could wiſh, you would call them before you, and to their ſhame for their malice puniſh them: who ſmiling on him, ſaid, *Why Mr. Water bailiffe, would you have me puniſh thoſe, by whom I receive more benefit, then by you all that be my friends? let them a Gods name ſpeak as baſely as they pleaſe of me, and ſhoot never ſo many arrowes at me, ſo long as they do not hit me, what am I the worſe? but if they ſhould once hit me, then indeed would it not a little trouble me; yet I truſt by Gods help there ſhall none of them all be able to touch me; I have more cauſe I aſſure thee Mr. Water-bailiffe to pity them, then to be angry with them.* Such height of perfection had he now attained, that he was neither allured by hopefull gains, nor de-

deterr'd one whit from his duty by evil tongues, ſtill carrying one and the ſame alacrity in all croſſes and adverſities, as in the following diſcourſe it will more appear.

CHAP. V.

1. *Sir* Thomas Mores *prompt and ready wit.*
2. *His charity to his neighbours.*
3. *His friendſhip with learned men at home and abroad.*

His readineſſe of wit upon all occaſions.

SIR *Thomas More* was a man of ſuch readineſſe of Wit, that at ſuch time as he attended upon his Highneſſe in his progreſſe either to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, where he was received with very eloquent Orations; his Majeſty alwayes appointed him to anſwer them *extempore*, as he that was moſt

prompt and ready for it. Sir *Thomas* being Chancellour of the Dutchy, was made Embaſſador twice joyned in commiſſion with Cardinall *Wolſey*, once to the Emperour *Charls* into *Flanders*, the other time to the *French* King into *France*, whoſe manner was, whenſoever he had occaſion to be in any Univerſity, not only to be preſent at their Readings and Diſputations, but alſo learnedly to diſpute himſelf amongſt them, to the great admiration of all the Auditory, for his knowledge in all ſciences: who being once at *Burgeſſe* in *Flanders*, an arrogant fellow had ſet up a *Theſis*, that he would anſwer any queſtion could be propounded unto him in what Art ſoever: Sir *Thomas* made this queſtion to be put up for him to anſwer, whether *Averia capta in Withernamia ſunt irriplegebilia*; adding that there was one of the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors retinue, that would diſpute with him thereof: This Thraſo, or Braggadochio

not

not ſo much as underſtanding thoſe terms of our common Law, knew not what to anſwer to it, and ſo he became ridiculous to the whole City for his preſumptuous bragging.

His charity to his neighbours.

On a time (whileſt the divorce was ſo hotly purſued by the King, (as you ſhall underſtand hereafter) he walking with his ſon-in-law Mr. *Rooper* along the Thames ſide neer *Chelſey*, among other diſcourſe, ſaid unto him, Now would to our Lord (ſonne *Rooper*) upon condition that three things were well eſtabliſhed in Chriſtendome, I were put into a ſack, and here preſently caſt into the *Thames*: What great things be thoſe Sir, ſaid he, that ſhould move you ſo to wiſh? Wouldſt thou know what they be (ſon *Rooper*) ſaid he? in faith they be theſe: The firſt is, *That where moſt part of Chriſtian Princes be now at mortall warre, they were at an univerſal peace.* The ſecond, *That where the Church of Chriſt is at this time ſore af-*

His three wiſhes for the good of Chriſtendome.

Unity in Peace.

Unity in Religion.

afflicted with many errors and Hereſies, it were ſetled in a perfect uniformity of Religion. The third is, *That whereas the Kings marriage is now brought in queſtion, it were to the glory of God, and quietneſſe of all parties well concluded*: whereby (as this Mr. *Rooper* thought) he judged that otherwiſe it would be a diſturbance to a great part of Chriſtendome.

An end of the Kings controverſie.

He never asked any thing of the King.

Thus did it by his doings, throughout the whole courſe of his life, appear that all his labour and pains, without reſpect of earthly profit either to himſelf or any of his, were onely and wholly beſtowed and employed to the ſervice of God, the Prince, and the Kingdome, who (as this Mr. *Rooper* hath heard him in his latter time to ſay) never asked of the King for himſelf the value of one penny.

His friendſhip with learned men.

Now as he did not regard proud and vain men, ſo was he an intire and ſpeciall good friend to all the learned men in Chriſtendome

ſtendome, with whom almoſt, he had continuall intercourſe of Letters; but of all ſtrangers, *Eraſmus* challengeth unto himſelf his love moſt eſpecially, which had long continued between them by mutual letters expreſſing great affection, & it encreaſed ſo much, that he took a journey on purpoſe into *England* to ſee and enjoy his perſonall acquaintance; at which time (it is reported) how that he who conducted him in his paſſage, procured that Sir *Thomas More* and he ſhould firſt meet together in *London* at the Lord Maiors Table, neither of them knowing each other, where in the dinner time, they chanced to fall into diſputation, *Eraſmus* ſtill endeavouring to defend the worſer part, but he was ſo ſharply ſet upon and oppoſed by Sir *Thomas More*, that perceiving he was now to argue with a readier wit then ever before he had met withall, he broke forth into theſe words not without ſome choler, *Aut tu*

Sir *Thomas More's* acquaintance with Dr. *Eraſmus Roterodamus.*

es

es Morus aut nullus: whereto Sir *Thomas* readily replyed, *Aut tu es Eraſmus aut Diabolus*: becauſe at that time he was ſtrangely diſguiſed, and had endeavoured to defend impious propoſitions, for although he was a ſingular Humaniſt and one that could utter his minde in moſt eloquent phraſe, yet had he alwayes a delight to ſcoffe at religious matters, and finde fault with all ſorts of Clergy-men, which is the reaſon that he is called by ſome *Errans-mus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

1 *Sir* Thomas More's *home-entertainments and devotions.*

2 *His behaviour to his Wife and Children.*

3 *His miraculous cure upon his daughter* Margaret *by prayer.*

NOw although Sir *Thomas More* lived a Courtier, yet when he came home, as his daily cuſtome was, beſides his private prayers with his Wife and Children, to ſay the ſeven Pſalms and the Letany; ſo was he wont alſo every night to go to his Chappell with his wife, children, and houſhold, and there upon his knees ordinarily to ſay certain Pſalms and Collects with them. And becauſe he was deſirous for godly

Sir *Tho. More*'s home entertainments and devotions.

godly purpoſes to be ſolitary, and ſequeſter himſelfe from worldly affairs, he builded a good diſtance from his manſion houſe a place which he called the New-building, wherein there was a Chappell, a Library, and a Gallery, in which as his cuſtome was upon other dayes to buſie himſelfe in prayer and meditation, ſo on Fridayes he uſed to continue there from morning till evening, ſpending his time only in devout prayers and ſpirituall exerciſes.

His ſervants diſcipline.

He would not ſuffer any of his ſervants either to be idle, or to give themſelves to games; but ſome of them he appointed to look to the Garden, aſſigning to every man his ſeverall plat, ſome he ſet to ſing, and ſome to play on the Organs: the men abode on one ſide of the houſe, and the women on the other, ſeldome converſing together: *Eraſmus* ſaith, that there was a fatall felicity fallen on the ſervants of that houſe

houſe, that none lived but in better eſtate after Sir *Thomas Mores* death, then before, and none of them touched with the leaſt aſperſion of any evil fame.

His table talk.

He uſed to have one read every day at his table, which being ended, he would ask ſome of them how they underſtood ſuch and ſuch a place; whereupon proceeded friendly communication, recreating all men that were preſent, with ſome jeſt or other.

Againſt too much curioſity in dreſſing.

When he obſerved any of his to ſpend much time in dreſſing themſelves to be fine in their apparell, he would tell them, *That if God gave them not Hell, he ſhould do them much wrong; for they took more pains to pleaſe the world and the Devill, then many even vertuous men did to cleanſe their ſouls and pleaſe God.*

His counſell given to his wife and Children.

And to ſtir up his Wife and Children to the deſire of heavenly things, he would ſometimes uſe theſe words unto them; *It is now no maſtery for you Children to goe*

to

To desire heavenly things.

to heaven, for every body giveth you good counsell, and good example: you see vertue rewarded and vice punished, so that you are carryed up to heaven as it were by the Chins: but if you live the time, that no man will give you good counsell, nor good example; when you shall see vertue punished, and vice rewarded, if you will then stand fast and firmly stick to God; upon pain of my life, though you be but half good, God will allow you for whole good. If his Wife or any of his Children had been diseased or troubled, he would say unto them,

To bear afflictions patiently.

We may not look at our pleasure to goe to heaven in feather-beds, that is not the way, for our Lord himself went thither through great pain, and by many tribulations, and the servant may not look to be in better condition then his Master. And as he would thus animate and incourage them to bear their afflictions patiently, so would he also perswade them to withstand the Devil and his temptations valiantly; comparing that our ghostly enemy to an

To resist the temptations of the Devil.

Ape;

Ape; for as the Ape not well looked to, will be buſie and bold to do ſhrewd turns, and contrarily being ſpyed and checkt for them, will ſuddenly leap back and adventure no further: ſo the Devill finding a man idle and ſlothfull, and without reſiſtance, ready to receive his temptations, groweth ſo hardy, that he will not fail to follow him untill he hath throughly brought him to his purpoſe; but on the other ſide, if he ſee man with diligence perſevere to prevent and withſtand his temptations, he groweth ſo weary, that in concluſion he utterly forſaketh him: for as the Devil in his diſpoſition is a ſpirit of ſo high a pride, that he cannot endure to be mocked; ſo is he of nature ſo envious, that he is more afraid any ſhould aſſault him, leſt he ſhould thereby not onely be ſhamefully foiled himſelf, but alſo procure more matter of merit to his oppoſer.

Many

A happy houſhold.

Many ſuch words tending to devotion and care of their ſouls, had he every day at dinner and ſupper, after the aforeſaid reading was done, and without all doubt (waving their principles) ſuch a family as this, might be a fit pattern of imitation for the moſt religious Proteſtant, where every one was buſied about ſomewhat or other no carding, no dicing, no wanton company keeping, but as it were ſome in religious houſe, all chaſte, all courteous, all devout: Their recreations was either muſick of voices or Viols, for which cauſe he procured his Wife to play thereon to draw her minde from the world, to which by nature he perceived her to be much addicted. Thus delighted he evermore not only in vertuous exerciſe to be employed himſelf, but alſo to exhort his Wife and Children to follow the ſame.

Their ordinary recreations.

On a time his daughter *Margaret*, Wife to Mr. *William Rooper*, fell ſick of the ſweating ſickneſſe,

(of

(of which many that year dyed) who lying in ſo great extremity of that diſeaſe, as by no inventions or deviſes of Phyſitians (of whom ſhe had divers, both expert, wiſe, and well learned, continually attendant about her) ſhe could be kept from ſleep; ſo that both Phyſitians and every one about her deſpaired of her recovery, and gave her utterly over: her father (as he that moſt intirely tendred her) being in no ſmall heavineſſe for her, ſought to get her remedy from God by Prayer: whereupon going up, as his cuſtome was, into hit foreſaid Newbuilding, he there in his Chappel upon his knees moſt devoutly, and with many tears beſought Almighty God, that it would pleaſe him of his goodneſſe, (unto whom nothing was impoſſible) if it were his bleſſed will, at his mediation to vouchſafe graciouſly to hear his petition: where preſently it came into his minde, that a Glyſter was her only remedy

His miraculous cure upon his daughter *Margaret*.

medy; which when he told the Phyſitians, they by and by confeſſed, if there were any hope of health, that that was the very beſt help indeed, much wondring that of themſelves they had not before remembred it. Then was it immediately applyed unto her ſleeping; which ſhe by no means could have been brought unto waking: and although after ſhe was thereby throughly awaked, Gods marks and evident undoubted tokens of death plainly appeared upon her; yet ſhe (contrary to all their expectations) miraculouſly recovered, and ſhortly after was reſtored to perfect health again; whom if it had pleaſed God at that time to have taken to his mercy, her father ſolemnly proteſted that he would never have medled with worldly affairs more.

CHAP. VII.

1 *The Ambition of Cardinall* Wolſey.
2 *King* Henrie's *ſcruple about his marriage communicated to Sir* Thomas More.
3 *Sir* Thomas More's *Prediction of the alteration of Religion in* England.
4 *His Embaſſie for peace and happy ſucceſſe therein.*

WHile Sir *Thomas More* was Chancellor of the Dutchy, the Sea of *Rome* chanced to be void, which was cauſe of much trouble: for Cardinall *Wolſey*, a man of unſatiable ambition, having crept up in favour of *Charles* the firſt, hoped now by his means to aſpire to that dignity; but per- Cardinal *Wolſey* his ambition.

perceiving himſelf diſappointed of his expectations by means of the Emperor *Charles*, ſo highly commending one Cardinal *Adrian* ſometime his Schoolmaſter to the Cardinals of *Rome* in the time of their Election for his vertue and worthineſſe, that thereupon he was choſen Pope: who from *Spain*, where he was then reſident, coming on foot to *Rome*, before his entry into the City, did put off his hoſe and ſhooes, barefooted, and bareleg'd paſſing through the ſtreets towards his Palace with ſuch humbleneſſe, that all the people had him in great reverence. But Cardinall *Wolſey* was ſo inraged at it, and ſo ſtomach'd the Emperor for ever after, that he ſtudied all wayes how he might poſſibly revenge himſelf againſt him; which as it was the beginning of a lamentable Tragedy, ſo ſome part thereof as not impertinent to my preſent purpoſe, I ſuppoſe requiſite here to inſert.

Pope *Adrian*'s humility.

This

This Cardinal therefore not ignorant of the Kings unconſtant and fickle diſpoſition, upon every light occaſion ſoon inclined to withdraw his devotion from his own wife Queen *Katherine* to fix it upon others, who either in nobility, wiſdome, vertue, favour, or beauty, were nothing comparable unto her, intending this fickleneſs of his an inſtrument to bring about his ungodly deſigne, endevoured all he could to allure the King to fanſie one of the *French* Kings ſiſters, the King being already (though unknown to the Cardinall) fallen in love with the Lady *Anne Bullen*; which thing, becauſe of the enmity and war, that was at that time between the *French* King and the Emperor (whom for the cauſe afore mentioned he mortally maligned) he was deſirous to procure.

And for the better accompliſhing there of, he requeſted *Longland* Biſhop of *London*, and ghoſtly father to the King, to put

Lincoln

Long land B. of London Wolsy's instrument.

a scruple into the Kings head, that it was not lawfull for him to marry his brothers wife: which the King not sorry to hear of, opened it first to Sir *Thomas More*, whose

K. *Henry* communicateth with Sir *Thomas More* his scruple concerning his first marriage.

counsel he required therein, shewing certain places of Scripture that somewhat seemed to serve his turn: which when he had seriously perused and therenpon excused himself, (as one that never had profest the study of Divinity) to be many wayes unfit to meddle in such matters: The King not satisfied with this answer, still pressed upon him so sore for it, that in conclusion he condescended to his Graces request. And further, because the businesse was of such weight and importance, as required good advisement and deliberation: he besought his Grace that he would give him sufficient time seriously to consider it; wherewith the Kng very well contented, told him that *Tunstall* and *Clark* Bishops of *Durham* and *Bath* with other the most learned of his

his privy Councell, ſhould alſo confer with him therein.

So Sir *Thomas More* departing compared thoſe places of Scripture with the expoſitions of divers of the old holy Doctors; and at his coming next to the Court, in talking with his Majeſty of the foreſaid matter, he ſaid; *To be plain with your Grace, neither my Lord of* Durham, *nor my Lord of* Bath *(though I know them both to be wiſe, vertuous learned and honourable Prelates) nor my ſelf with the reſt of your Councel (being all of us your Majeſties own ſervants, ſo much bound unto your Highneſſe for your great favours daily beſtowed upon us) be, in my judgment, meet Counſellors for your Grace herein; but if your Highneſſe pleaſe to underſtand the very truth, you may have ſuch Councellors deviſed, as neither for reſpect of their own worldly profit, nor for fear of your Princely authority will be inclined to deceive you*: and then named S. *Hierome*, S. *Auſtine*, and divers other holy Doctors, both *Greeks* and *Latines*, and alſo ſhew-

ed what authority he had gathered out of them; which although the King, as not agreeing with his deſires, did not very well like of, yet were they by Sir *Thomas More* (who in all his communication with the King in that buſineſs, had alwaies moſt diſcreetly demeaned himſelf) ſo wiſely tempered, that both at that preſent he took them in good part, and often afterwards had thereof conference with him again.

The beginning of K. *Henrie's* ſeparation from the Church of *Rome.*

After this, were there certain queſtions propounded among his Councell, Whether the King in the caſe of his firſt marriage needed to have any ſcruple at all; and if he had, what way were beſt to remove it. The moſt of his Councel were of opinion that there was good cauſe: becauſe Queen *Katherine* being married before to Prince *Arthur* King *Henrie's* elder brother, was not to be wife to two brothers; and therefore for diſcharging of this, ſuit was to be made to the See of *Rome* where the

Scruple of his marriage with Queen *Katharine*

King

King by liberality hoped to obtain his desires: wherein, as it appeared afterwards, he was much deceived.

Then was there for the triall and examination of this matrimony procured from *Rome*, a Commission in which Cardinal *Campegius* and Cardinall *Wolsey* were joyned Commissioners, who for the determination thereof sat at the *Black-Friers* in *London*, where a Libell was put in for annulling the former Matrimony, alledging, that marriage between the King and the Queen to be utterly unlawfull: but, on the other side, for proof that it was lawfull, there was brought in a Dispensation. In which after divers disputations thereupon held, there appeared an imperfection, which by an instrument or brief, (upon search found in the Treasury of *Spain*, and sent to the Commissioners into *England*) was supplyed, and so judgement should have been given by the Pope accordingly, had not the

Commissioners from Rome about it.

The dispensation questioned.

And supplyed by a new confirmation.

the King upon intelligence thereof before the ſaid judgment appealed to the next generall Councel, after whoſe appellation the Cardinal upon that matter ſate no longer.

He foreſaw the fal of his Religion in *England.*

It fortuned before the buſineſſe of the ſaid Matrimony was brought in queſtion, when this foreſaid Mr. *Rooper* in diſcourſe with his father-in-law (of a certain joy) commended unto him the happy eſtate of this Kingdom, that had ſo Catholick a Prince, that no Heretick durſt ſhew his face; ſo vertuous and learned a Clergie, ſo grave and ſound a Nobility, ſo loving and obedient Subjects, all agreeing together in one faith and dutifulneſſe, as though they had *Cor unum & Animam unam*, one Heart and one Soul: Sir *Thomas* replyed, *In truth it is indeed ſon* Rooper *as you ſay*: and in commending all degrees and eſtates of the ſame far exceeded him: *and yet ſon* Rooper *I pray God*, ſaid he, *that ſome of us, as high as we ſeem to*

ſit

it upon the mountains, treading Hereticks under our feet, live not the day, that we gladly would wish to be at a league and composition with them, to let them have their Churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be content to let us have ours quietly to our selves. When his son had told him many reasons why he had no cause so to expresse himself, *VVell*, said he, *I pray God* (*son* Rooper) *some of us live not till that day*: yet shewing him no reason why he should put any doubt therein. To whom he said, By my troth, Sir, it is very *desperately* spoken (but withall recants that term:) who by these words perceiving him in some choler said merrily unto him, *VVel, well, son* Rooper, *it shall not be so, it shall not be so*: whom, as I have said before, in all the time of continuall residence with him, he could never perceive so much as once disturbed with anger.

But now to return again where I left; after the supplying of the imperfections of the Dispensation

Sir Thomas More's Embaſſie for peace and his happy ſucceſſe therein.

ſent, as is before related, to the Commiſſioners into *England*, the King taking the matter for ended, and then intending to proceed no further in it, aſſigned the Biſhop of *Durham*, and Sir *Thomas More* to goe Embaſſadors to *Cambray*, a place (then) neither Imperiall nor *French*, to treat of a peace between the Emperour, the *French* King, and him. In the concluding whereof, Sir *Thomas More* ſo worthily behaved himſelf (procuring in our league farre more advantages unto this Kingdome, then at that time by the King or his Councel was thought poſſible) that for his good ſervice in that employment, the King made him Lord Chancellor, and cauſed the Duke of *Norfolke* openly to declare unto the people (as you ſhall ſee here hereafter more at large) how much all *England* was bounden unto him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

1 *The Cardinal degraded of his Office.*
2 *Sir* THOMAS MORE *made Lord High Chancellor of* England.

NOw upon the coming home of the Biſhop of *Durham*, and Sir *Thomas More* from *Cambray*, the King was as earneſt in perſwading Sir *Thomas More* to agree to his ſecond marriage as before, by many and divers wayes provoking him thereunto, for which cauſe (as it was thought) he the rather ſoon after made him Lord Chancellor; and further told him, that though at his going over the ſea to *Cambray* he was in utter deſpair thereof, yet he had conceived ſince ſome good hope to bring it about: for although

Biſhop Stokely his quirk in Queen Katharines marriage.

although his marriage being againſt the poſitive Lawes of the Church, and the written Lawes God, was holpen by the Diſpenſation, yet was there another thing found out of late, he ſaid, whereby his marriage appeared to be ſo directly againſt the Law of Nature, that it could in no wiſe be diſpenſable by the Church, as Dr. *Stokely* (whom he had then preferred to be Biſhop of *London*, and in that caſe chiefly credited) was able to inform him, with whom he prayed him in that point to conferre; But for al his conference with him, he ſaw nothing of ſuch force as could induce him to change his opinion therein; yet the Biſhop relating to the King their conference ſo favourably reported of Sir *Thomas More*'s carriage therein, that he ſaid he found him very deſirous to finde ſome matter in his Highneſſe cauſe, wherein he might truly ſerve his Grace to his contentation.

His conference with Sir *Thomas* about it.

This Biſhop *Stokely* being by the Cardinall

Cardinall not long before openly disgraced, and awarded to the Fleet, not brooking this contumelious usage, and thinking that (forasmuch as the Cardinal for lack of such forwardnes in setting forth the Kings Divorce as his Grace expected, was out of his Highnesse favour) he had now a good occassion offered him to revenge himself of him; He yet more to incense the Kings displeasure against him, endevoured all he could to invent some colourable device for the Kings furtherance in that behalf, which (as is before mentioned) he revealed to his Grace, hoping thereby to procure the Kings greater affection to himself, and disaffection to the Cardinall, whom his Highnesse therefore soon after displaced of his Office; and (the rather to move him to incline to his side) committed the same to Sir *Thomas More* in his stead who between the Dukes of *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk* being brought through *Westminster-Hall*, to his place in the Chancery

Stokely undermines the Cardinal.

The Cardinals fal.

Sir Thomas More elected Lord Chancellor.

The honorable Ceremony with which he was enſtald.

Chancery, the Duke of *Norfolk* in audience of all the people there aſſembled, ſhewed that he was from the King himſelf ſtreightly charged by ſpeciall commiſſion there openly in preſence of them all, to make Declaration how much all *England* was beholding to Sir *Thomas More* for his good ſervice, and how worthy he was of the higheſt preferment in the Kingdome, and how dearly his Grace loved and truſted him.

A Copy of the Oration.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Oration in behalf of *Sir Thomas More.*

THE Kings Majeſtie (which I pray God may prove happy and fortunate to the whole Realm of Engl. *) hath raiſed to the moſt high dignity of Chancellorſhip Sir* Tho. More, *a man for his extraordinary worth and ſufficiency well known to himſelf and the whole Realm, for no other cauſe or earthly reſpect, but for that he hath*

plainly

pialnly perceived all th e gifts of Nature and Grace to be heaped upon him, which either the people could desire, or himself wish, for the discharging of so great an Office. For the admirable wisdome, integrity, and innocency, joyned with most pleasant facility of wit, that this man is indued withall, have been sufficiently known unto all English *from his youth, and for these many years also to the Kings majesty himself. This hath the King abundantly found in many and weighty affairs, which he hath happily dispatched both at home and abroad, in divers Offices which he hath borne, in most honourable Embassies, which he hath undergone, and in his daily Counsells and Advices upon all other occasions. He hath perceived no man in this Realm to be more wise in deliberating, more sincere in opening to him what he thought, nor more eloquent to adorn the matter which he uttered. Wherefore because he saw in him such*

Of his worthiness for so great an employment.

such excellent endowments, and that of his speciall care he hath a particular desire that this Kingdome and people might be governed with all equity and justice, integrity and wisdome: he of his own most gratious disposition hath created this singular man Lord Chancellor, that by his laudable performance of this Office his people may injoy peace and justice, and honour also and fame may redound to the whole kingdome. It may perhaps seeme to many, a strange and an unusall matter that this Dignity should be bestowed upon a Lay-man, none of the Nobility, and one that hath wife and Children, because heretofore none but singular learned Prelates, or men of greatest Nobility have possessed this place; But what is wanting in these respects, the admirable virtues, the matchlesse gifts of wit and wisdome of this man, doth most plentifully recompense the same; for the Kings Majesty hath not regarded how great, but what

The first Lay-man that ever was made Lord Chancellor.

Good reasons why that old custome was now calt red.

a

a man he was, he hath not coſt his eyes upon the Nobility of his bloud, but on the worth of his Perſon; he hath reſpected his ſufficiency, not his profeſſion finally, he would ſhew by this choice, that he hath ſome rare ſubjects amongſt the row of Gentlemen, and Lay-men, who deſerve to manage the higheſt Offices in th: Realm, which Biſhops and Nobl: men think they only can deſerve. The rarer therefore it was, ſo much both himſelfe held it to be the more excellent, and to his people he thought it would be more gratefull. Wherefore receive this your Chancellor with joyfull acclamations, at whoſe hands you may expect all happineſſe and content.

Sir *Thomas More* according to his wonted modeſty, was ſomewhat abaſhed at this the Dukes Speech in that it ſounded ſo much in his praiſe, but recollecting himſelf as that place and time would give him

Sir Tho. Mores modeſt and diſcreet reply.

him leave, he anſwerd in manner following.

He acknowledgeth his own unworthineſs.

Although, moſt Noble Duke, and you Honourable Lords and Worſhipful Gentlemen, I know all theſe things (which the Kings Majeſty, it ſeemeth hath been pleaſed it ſhould be ſpoken of me at this time and place, and your Grace hath with moſt eloquent words thus amplified) are as far from me as I could wiſh with all my heart they were in me for the better performance of ſo great a charge: And although this your Speech hath cauſed in me greater fear then I can well expreſſe in words, yet this incomparable favour of my dread Soveraign, by which he ſheweth how well, yea how highly, he conceiveth of my Weakneſſe, having commanded that my Meaneſſe ſhould be ſo greatly commended, cannot be but moſt acceptable unto me. And I cannot chooſe but give your moſt noble Grace exceeding thanks,

The Dukes love.

that

that what his Majeſty hath willed you briefly to utter, you of the abundance of your love untome, have in a large and eloquent Oration dilated. As for my ſelf, I can take it no otherwiſe, but that his Majeſties incomparable favour towards me, the good will and incredible propenſion of his Royal mind (where with he hath this many years favoured me continually) hath alone without any deſert of mine at all cauſed both this my new honour, and theſe your undeſerved commendations of me. For who am I, or what is the Houſe of my Father, that the Kings Highneſſe ſhould heap upon me by ſuch a perpetuall ſtream of affection theſe ſo high Honours? I am far leſſe then any the meaneſt of his benefits beſtowed on me; how can I then think my ſelf worthy or fit for this ſo peerleſſe dignity? I have been drawn by force, as the Kings Majeſty often profeſſeth, to his Highneſſe ſervice to be a Courtier: but to take this dignity upon me, is moſt of

The Kings favour & bounty.

Which he eſteems beyond his deſerts.

of all againſt my will; yet ſuch is his Highneſſe benignity, ſuch is his bounty, that he highly eſteemeth the ſmall dutifulneſſe of his meaneſt Subjects; and ſeeketh ſtill magnificently to recompenſe his Servants, not only ſuch as deſerve well, but even ſuch as have but a deſire to deſerve well at his hands: in which number I have alwaies wiſhed my ſelf to be reckoned, becauſe I cannot challenge my ſelf to be one of the former; which being ſo, you may all perceive with me how great a burthen is laid upon my back, in that I muſt ſtrive in ſome ſort with my diligence and duty to correſpond with his Royall benevolence, and to be anſwerable to that great expectation, which he and you ſeem to have of me. Wherefore theſe ſo high Praiſes are by ſo much more grievous unto me, by how much I know the greater charge I have to render my ſelf worthy of, and the fewer meanes I have to make them good. This weight is hardly ſutable to my weak ſhoulders, this honour is not correſpondent

All which increaſe in him a reſolution to diſcharge well this ſo great charge;

correſpondent to my poor deſerts: it is a burthen, not a Glory; a care, not a Dignity; the one therefore I muſt bear as manfully as I can, and diſcharge the other with as much dexterity as I ſhall be able. The eagneſt deſire which I have alwaies had, and do now acknowledge my ſelf to have to ſatisfie by all means I can poſſible the moſt amplebenefits of his Highneſſe, will greatly excite and aid me to the diligent performance of all; which I truſt alſo I ſhall be more able to do, if I find all your good wils and wiſhes both favourable unto me, and conformable to his Royall munificence: becauſe my ſerious indeavours to do well, joyned with your favourable acceptance will eaſily procure that whatſoever is performed by me, though it be in it ſelf but ſmall, yet will it ſeem great and praiſe-worthy; for thoſe things are alwaies atchieved happily, which are accepted willingly; and thoſe ſucceed fortunately, which are received by others courteouſly. As you therefore do hope

He deſireth favourable interpretation of his endeavours.

hope for great matters and the beſt at my hands, ſo though I dare not promiſe any ſuch, yet do I promiſe truly and affectionately to performe the beſt I ſhall be able.

A wiſe conſideration of his predeceſſors example.

When Sir *Thomas* had ſpoken theſe words turning his face to the high Judg-ment ſeat of the Chancery he proceeded thus:

But when I look upon this ſeat, when I think how great and what kind of perſonages have poſſeſſed this place before me, when I call to mind who he was that ſat in it laſt of all, a man of what ſingular wiſdome, of what notable experience, what a proſperous and favourable fortune he had for a great ſpace, and how at the laſt he had a moſt grievous fall and died inglorious: I have cauſe enough by my predeceſſors example to think honour but ſlippery, and this dignity not ſo gratefull to me as it may ſeem to others for both is it a hard matter to follow

with

with like paces or praiſes. a man of ſuch admirable wit, prudence, authority and ſplendor, to whom I may ſeeme but as the lighting of a Candle when the Sun is down. and alſo the ſuddain and unexpected fall of ſo great a man as he was, doth terribly put me in mind that this honour ought not to pleaſe me too much, nor the luſtre of this gliſtering ſeat dazle mine eyes. Wherefore I aſcend this ſeat as a place full of labour and danger, void of all ſolid and true honour; the which by how much the higher it is, by ſo much greater fall I am to fear, as well in reſpect of the very nature of the thing it ſelf, as becauſe I am warned by this late fearfull example. And truly I might even now at this firſt entrance ſtumble, yea faint, but that his Majeſties moſt ſingular favour towards me, and all your good wils (which your joyfull Countenance doth teſtifie in this moſt honourable Aſſembly) doe ſomewhat

The dangers of high honours.

ſomewhat recreate and refreſh me: otherwiſe this Seat would be no more pleaſing to me then that Sword was to Dimocles *which hung over his head tyed only by the hair of a horſes tail, when he had ſtore of delicates before him, ſeated in the chair of ſtate of* Denys *the great Tyrant of* Sicilie; *this therefore ſhall be alwaies freſh in my mind, this will I have ſtill before mine eyes, that this ſtate will be honourable, famous, and full of Glory unto me, if I ſhall with care and diligence, fidelity and wiſdome endeavour to do my duty, and ſhall perſwade my ſelf, that the enjoying thereof may chance to be but ſhort and uncertain; the one whereof my labour ought to perform, the other my predeceſſors example may eaſily teach me. All which being ſo, you may eaſily perceive what great pleaſure I take in this high Dignity, or in this moſt noble Dukes praiſing of me.*

A warning to uſe them well.

And he further declared to this effect, that as they had in the Kings

Kings name charged him uprightly to do indifferent juſtice to the people, without corruption or affection; ſo did he likewiſe charge them again, that if they ſaw him at any time in any thing digreſſe from any part of his duty in that honourable Office, even as they would diſcharge their own duty & fidelity to God and the King, ſo ſhould they not fail to inform his Grace of it, who otherwiſe might have juſt occaſion to lay his default wholly to their charge.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

1 *Sir* THOMAS MORE'S *affable behaviour and integrity in his Chancellorſhip.*

2 *His wiſe remedying long delays in ſuits of law.*

3 *His humble behaviour toward his Father.*

4 *His admirable Zeal in the cauſe of his Religion.*

Sir Thomas Mores behaviour to all ſuitors, eſpecially to the poorer ſort.

NOw upon Sir *Thomas More's* entrance into this honourable Office, every one might perceive a very ſtrange alteration; for whereas the precedent Chancellor *Wolſey*, would ſcarce look or ſpeak to any, into whoſe only preſence none could be admitted unleſſe his fingers were tipp'd with gold; on the contrary, this Chancellor the poorer

poorer and meaner the Supplyant was, the more affably he would ſpeak unto him, the more attentively he would hearken unto his cauſe, and with ſpeedy tryal diſpatch him; for which purpoſe, he uſed commonly every afternoon to ſit in his open Hall, that if any perſon whatſoever had any ſuite unto him, they might the more boldly come to his preſence, and open their complaints before him.

No acceſs to Bribery

Which cuſtome of his extraordinary favour to all, one Mr. *Dauncy* his Son-in-law on a time ſeemed merrily to find fault with, ſaying, that when Cardinal *Wolſey* was Lord Chancellor, not only divers of his privie Chamber, but ſuch alſo as were his Door-keepers got great gain by him; And ſince he had marryed one of his Daughters and gave ſtil attendance upon him, he thought he might of reaſon expect ſomething too; but becauſe he was ſo ready to hear every man, poor and rich, and kept no doors ſhut againſt them, he

could get nothing, which was to him a great diſcouragement; and whereas elſe ſome for friendſhip, ſome for kindred, ſome for profit, would gladly uſe his furtherance to bring them to his preſence, if he ſhould now take any thing of them, he knew (he ſaid) he ſhould do them much wrong, becauſe they might as freely prefer their cauſes to him themſelves; which thing, though he thought it in Sir *Thomas* very commendable, yet to himſelf (he ſaid) being his Son, he found it nothing profitable. When he had told him this, *You ſay well Son* (ſaid he) *I like well that you are of Conſcience ſo ſcrupulous: but many other waies be there Son, that I may both do your ſelf good, and pleaſure your friends alſo; for ſometime may I by my word ſtand your friend in ſtead, and ſometimes may I by my Letter help him; or if he have a Cauſe depending before me, at your requeſt I may hear him before another; or if his Cauſe be not all the beſt, yet may I move the parties to fall to ſome reaſo-*

Means how great men may do favours in Juſtice.

nable

nable end by a bitrament; howbeit Son this one thing I assure thee on my faith, that if the parties will at my hands call for Justice, then all were it my Father whom I loved dearly, stood on the one side, and the Devil, whom I hate extreamly, stood on the other, his Cause being good, the Devil should have right. So offered he his Son, he said, as much favour as with reason he could possibly require. Notable integrity.

And, that he would for no respects digresse from justice, well appeareth by a plain example of another of his sonn-in-law, Mr. *Heron* by name: for when he having a Cause depending before him in the Chancery, and presuming too much on his favour, would in no wise be perswaded by him to agree to any indifferent composition, he in conclusion made a flat decree against him. Even against his own kindred.

* Now as few Injunctions as he granted while he was Chancellor, yet were they by some of the judges of the Law misliked, which his son-in-law the foresaid Mr. *Roo-* * Long delaies in Law the misery of poor Clients, remedied by Sir *Tho. More.*

per underſtanding, told his Father of it, who anſwered him that they ſhould have little cauſe to find fault with him for that: and thereupon he cauſed Mr *Crook* chief of the ſix Clerks to make a Docket containing the whole number and cauſes of all ſuch injunctions, as either in his time had already paſſed, or at that preſent depended in any of the Kings Courts at *Weſtminſter* before him: which done he invited all the Judges to dine with him in the Councell-chamber at *Weſtminſter*; where after dinner when he had broken with them what complaints he had heard of his Injunctions, and farther ſhewed them both the number and cauſes of every one of them, in order ſo plainly, that upon full debating thereof, they all confeſſed that they in like caſe could have done no otherwiſe themſelves; Then offered he this unto them, that if the Juſtices of every Court unto whom the Reformation of the rigor of the Law

(by

(by reaſon of their Office) moſt eſpecially appertained, would upon reaſonable conſiderations by their own diſcretions, (as they were, as he thought, in conſcience bound) mitigate and reform the rigor of the Law themſelves, there ſhould from thenceforth by him no more Injunctions be granted: Whereunto when they refuſed to condeſcend, then ſaid he unto them: *Forasmuch as your ſelves (My Lords) drive me to that neceſſity, for awarding out Injunctions to relieve the peoples injuries, you cannot hereafter any more juſtly blame me.* After that he ſaid ſecretly to Mr. *Roper*, *I perceive, Son, why they like not ſo to do, for they ſee that they may by the verdict of the Jury caſt off all quarrels from themſelves upon them, which they account their chief defence, and therefore am I compel'd to abide the adventure of all ſuch reports.*

After this he took order with all the Atturneys of his Court, that there ſhould no *Subpœna's* go out, whereof in general he ſhould not

A pleaſant Tale of a *Tub.*

have notice of the matter with one of their hands unto the Bil, which bearing a ſufficient cauſe of complaint worthy a *Subpœna*, he would ſet his hand to, or elſe cancel it. And when on a time one of the Atturneys, whoſe name was Mr. *Tub* had brought unto Sir *Thomas* the ſumme of his Clients Cauſe, and requeſted his hand unto it; Sir *Thomas* reading it, and finding it a matter frivolous, he added thereto in ſtead of his own name theſe words, *A Tale of a Tub*: the Atturney going away as he thought with Sir *Tho.* his name unto it, found when his Client read it, but a jeſt.

Now was it a great wonder for any one to behold, how two great places of *Weſtminſter-hall* were taken up, one with the Son, the other with the Father; which ſurely never was heard of before, or ſince; the Son to be Lord Chancellor, and the Father Sir *John More* to be one of the antienteſt Judges of the Kings Bench, if not the

the eldeſt of all, for he was then near ninety years old. Nay what a grateful ſpectacle was it to ſee the Son every day as he paſſed through the Hal to his place in the Chancery by the Court of the Kings Bench, (if his Father had been ſet ere he came) to go into the Court, and there reverently kneeling down in the ſight of them all duly ask his Fathers bleſſing. And if it fell out that his Father and he at reading in *Lincolns-Inne* met together, (as they ſometimes did) notwithſtanding his High Office, he would ſtil offer the preheminency to his Father though he for his office ſake would refuſe to take it: ſuch was the piety and ſubmiſſive mind of this humble man, ſuch again was the provident care of the Father towards the Son, that one can hardly gueſſe which of the two were more worthy, the father of ſuch a ſon, or the ſon of ſuch a Father.

Sir Thomas More's humble behaviour towards his Father the antienteſt Judg of the Kingdome.

And as little leiſure as he had to be buſied in the ſtudy of holy

His admirable zeal in the cauſe of his Religion.

Scriptures, Controverſies upon Religion, and other ſuch like vertuous exerciſes, being in a manner continually imployed about the affairs of the King and the Kingdome, yet ſuch pains took he early and late in ſetting forth divers learned books in defence of his Religion, that the Biſhops to whoſe paſtoral care ſuch buſineſſes principally appertained, thinking themſelves by what he had done (wherein by their own confeſſion they were not able to compare with him) of their duties in that behalf diſcharged, and conſidering that for all his Princes favour, he was no rich man, nor advanced in yearly revenews, as his worthineſſe deſerved; therefore at a Convocation amongſt themſelves and other of the Clergy, they agreed together and concluded upon a ſum of four or five thouſand pounds to recompenſe him for his pains. To the payment whereof every Biſhop, Abbot, and the reſt of the Clergy were, according to their

A liberal reward proffered him nobly by the Biſhops of *England*

their abilities, liberal contributaries; hoping this ſum would content him. Whereupon *Tunſtal* Biſh. of *Durham*, and *Clark* Biſhop and as is ſuppoſed *Veſſey* of *Exeter* repaired unto him declaring how thankfully they eſteemed themſelves bound to conſider him for his labours (to their diſcharge in Gods) beſtowed, and that albeit they could not according to his deſerts ſo worthily requite him for it as they gladly would, but muſt referre that only to the goodneſſe of God; yet for a ſmall part of recompence, in reſpect of his eſtate ſo unequal to his worthineſſe, in the name of their whole Convocation they preſented unto him that ſumme, which they deſired him to accept of: who forſaking it, ſaid, *That like as it was no ſmall comfort to him that ſo wiſe and learned men ſo well accepted of his doings, for which he never intended to receive reward but at the hands of God only, to whom alone was the thanks thereof chiefly to be aſcribed, ſo alſo he moſt humbly thanked their ho-*

As nobly and magnanimouſly refuſed by him, only for Gods cauſe.

nours for their bountiful conſideration. When they for all their importunate preſſing upon him, (that few would have ſuppoſed he could have refuſed it) could not for all that faſten any upon him; Then they deſired him that they might beſtow it upon his Wife and Children: *Not ſo (My Lords)* ſaid he, *I had rather ſee it all caſt into the Thames, then I or any of mine ſhould have the worth of one penny of it: For though your offer, my Lords, be indeed very friendly and honourable, yet ſet I ſo much by my pleaſure, and ſo little by my profit, that I would not in good faith for ſo much and much more, have loſt the reſt of ſo many nights ſleep as was ſpent upon the ſame: and yet wiſh would I for all that upon condition all Hereſies were ſuppreſſed, that all my books were burned, & my labour utterly loſt.* Thus departing, were they fain to reſtore unto every man his own again.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

1 *Sir* THOMAS MORE's *penances continued in the midſt of his honours.*
2 *His charity to his poor neighbours of* Chelſey.
3 *He refuſeth to allow of King* Henries *Divorcement.*
4 *He ſues to depoſe his Office.*
5 *The death of* Jo. MORE *his Father.*
6 *Such incredible poverty in ſo eminent a Perſon, a ſure ſign of incamparable Integrity.*

THis Lord Chancellor for the avoiding of ſingularity, would appear no otherwiſe then other men in his apparell and outward behaviour, and though outwardly he appeared honourable like

Sir *Thomas More* his penances.

like one of his calling, yet inwardly he was no ſuch; for ſecretly next his skin he wore a ſhirt of hair, which his daughter *More* a young Gentlewoman in the ſummer as he ſate at ſupper ſingle in his doublet and hoſe, wearing thereupon a plain ſhirt without ruff or collar, chancing to eſpy, began to laugh at it; which her ſiſter *Margaret* (not ignorant of his Cuſtome) perceiving, privily told him of it, and he being ſorry that ſhe had ſeen it preſently amended it. He uſed alſo ſometimes to puniſh his body with whips, the cords knotted, which was known only to his eldeſt daughter *Margaret* Wife to the foreſaid Mr. *Rooper*, whom for her ſecreſie above all other he eſpecially truſted; cauſing her as need required to waſh the ſame ſhirt of hair.

Hair-ſhirt.

His merciful works to his poor neighbours.

He ſeldome feaſted Noble-men, but his poor neighbours often; whom he would viſit in their houſes, and beſtow upon them his large liberality, not groats, but crowns

crowns of Gold; and more then that, if their wants required it. He hired a house also for many aged people in *Chelsey*, whom he daily relieved; & it was his daughter *Margarets* charge to see them want nothing: when he was a private Lawyer, he would take no fees of poor folks, widows, or pupils.

Liberality to his parish Church.

Somewhat before he was Lord Chancellor, he built a Chappel in his Parish at *Chelsey*, where the parish had all ornaments belonging thereunto abundantly supplied at his charge, and he bestowed thereon much Plate, often using these words: *Good men give it, and bad men take it away.*

K. *Henry* desires Sir *Thomas* to allow his divorce.

Now shortly upon his entry into the high Office of Chancellorship, the King often again importuned him to weigh and consider his great business, supposing that he had now so strictly obliged him that he could no way have gainsaid him; but he valuing more the quiet of his conscience, then any

Princes

Princes favour in the world, fell down upon his knees before his Majeſty, and humbly beſought his Highneſs, to ſtand his gracious Soveraign, as ever ſince his entry into his Graces ſervice he had found him: adding withall, that there was nothing in the world had been ſo grievous unto his heart, as to remember he was not able (as he willingly would with the loſs of one of his limbs) to find any thing in that matter, whereby with integrity of his Conſcience he might truly ſerve his contentation, as he that alwaies bore in mind thoſe godly words that his Highneſſe ſpake unto him when he firſt admitted him into his Noble ſervice, the moſt vertuous leſſon that ever Prince taught his Servant, willing him *firſt to look unto God*, & (*after God*) *unto him*, as in good faith he ſaid he did and would, or elſe might his Grace well accompt him his moſt unworthy ſervant. To this the King courteouſly anſwered, that if he could not there-

Sir *Thomas Mores* refuſal for the time accepted by the King.

in

in with his Conſcience ſerve, he was content to accept of his Service otherwiſe, and uſe the advice of other his learned Councell, whoſe conſciences would well enough agree with it; yet that he would nevertheleſſe continue his wonted favour towards him, and no more moleſt his conſcience with that buſineſſe.

A Parliament called for Q. *Annes* marriage.

But Sir *Thomas More* when afterwards he ſaw the King fully determined to proceed further in the marriage of Queen *Anne*, and that a Parliament was called for that purpoſe, wherein he with the Biſhops and Nobles of the upper Houſe were, for the furtherance of that marriage, commanded by the King to go down to the Commons, to ſhew unto them both what the Univerſities as well of other parts beyond the ſeas, as at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, had done therein, and their ſeals alſo teſtifying the ſame: All which at the Kings requeſt (not ſhewing of what judgment himſelf was therein!) he declared

declared unto the lower House; yet doubting left further attempts ſhould after follow, which contrary to his Conſcience (by reaſon of his Office) he was likely to be put unto, he made ſuit unto the Duke of *Norfolk* his ſingular dear friend, to be a means to the King, that he might with his Majeſties favour be diſcharged of that chargeable office of Chancellorſhip, wherein for certain infirmities of his body, he pretended himſelf unable any longer to ſerve.

Sir Thomas ſues to depoſe his Office.

This Duke coming on a time to *Chelſey* to dine with him, hapned to find him at the Church ſinging in the Quire with a Surplice on his back: to whom after Service as they went homeward hand in hand together, the Duke ſaid, Gods body, My Lord Chancellor, what a Pariſh Clerk, a Pariſh Clerk! You diſhonour the King and his Office: Nay, ſaid Sir *Thomas*, ſmiling upon the Duke, *Your Grace may not think your Maſter and mine will be offended with me for ſerving of God his Maſter*

Sir Thomas More's humbleneſs in the height of his Honours.

Maſter, or thereby count his Office diſhonoured.

When Sir *Thomas* had behaved himſelf in his office of the Chancellorſhip, for the ſpace of two years and a half, ſo wiſely, that none could mend his doings; ſo uprightly, that none could take exception againſt him or his juſt proceedings; and ſo dexterouſly, that (tis to be ſuppoſed) never any man before or ſince did that which he did: for he had taken ſuch order for the diſpatching of all mens cauſes, that on a time ſitting as Judge there, and having finiſhed one cauſe, he called for the next to be heard: whereto anſwer was made, that there was not one cauſe more depending. This he cauſed to be ſet down upon Record.

A remarkable Record, that no Cauſe was left undecided in the Chancery.

About this time it hapned Sir *John More* to fall ſick (as ſome ſay) of a Surfeit of grapes: in his ſickneſſe, his Son whom he had now ſeen Lord Chancellor (according to his duty) often came and viſited

The death of Sir *John More*.

ted him, uſing many comfortable words unto him, and at his departure out of this world, with tears taking him about the neck, moſt lovingly kiſſed, and embraced him, commending his Soul into the merciful hands of Almighty God, and ſo departed from him: who left him now better'd but with a ſmall increaſe of eſtate, becauſe his chief houſe and Lands at *Gubbins* in *Hartfordſhire*, his laſt wife enjoyed, who outlived Sir *Thomas* ſome ten years, and therefore Sir *Thomas* never enjoyed almoſt any inheritance from his Father; inſomuch, that he affirmed in his apology which he wrote about this time, that in all his revenues and penſions, except that which had been granted by Letters Patents from the King of his meer liberality; *viz.* the Manours of *Duckington*, *Frinkford*, and *Barly-park*, in *Oxfordſhire*, all the reſt he ſaith amount not to above fifty pound *per annum*, as thoſe which he had either by his Father, or by his Wife,

Sir Tho. never enjoied his Fathers inheritance.

Wife, or by his own purchaſe. Surely a moſt rare ſaying, and as honourable to him as his profeſſion: that one of the Kings Councell who had gone through ſo many Offices for almoſt twenty years ſhould not be able to purchaſe one hundred pounds land.

Rare poverty in a Lord High Chancellor.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

1 *Sir* THOMAS MORE's *contempt of worldly honour declared in depoſing the great Dignity of Chancellorſhip.*

2 *His Reſolution to live poorly.*

3 *He prepareth himſelf for his ſufferings as foreſeeing them.*

4 *He refuſeth to be preſent at Queen* Anne's *Marriage.*

Upon Sir *Thomas* his ſuite to reſign up his Office, the King graciouſly accepteth his deſire.

NOw when the Duke being often ſolicited by Sir *Thomas More* had at length obtained of the King a clear diſcharge of his Office: then at a convenient time by his Highneſſe appointment, he repaired

paired to his Grace to yield up unto him the Great Seal of *England*; which as his *Majeſty* (with thanks and praiſe for his worthy ſervice in that Office) courteouſly received at his hands; ſo alſo he ſaid more unto him, that for the good ſervice he before had done him, in any ſuit which he ſhould after have unto him, that either ſhould concern his honour or his profit, he ſhould find him very good unto him.

Of his Children living with him.

After he had thus given over the Chancellorſhip, and placed all his Gentlemen Yeomen with Biſhops and Noble men, and his eight Watermen with the Lord *Audly* who ſucceeded him in his Office, to whom alſo he gave his great Barge: Then calling all his Children unto him, and asking their advice how they might now (in this decay of his ability, ſo much impaired by the ſurrender of his Office, that he could not now (as he was wont, and gladly would) bear out the whole charges of them all himſelf,

All his Children hitherto dwelt with him.

ſo

ſo that from henceforth they ſhould not be able to live and continue together, as he wiſht they might: when he ſaw them all ſilent, and none of them ready to ſhew their opinions therein: *Then will I*, ſaid he, *ſhew my poor mind unto you. I have been brought up at* Oxford, *at an Inne of Chancery, at* Lincolns-Inne, *and alſo in the Kings Court, and ſo forth, from the loweſt degree unto the higheſt, and yet have I now in yearly Revenues left me little above one hundredpounds by the year, ſo that we muſt hereafter (if we will live together) be contented to become contributaries: but by my counſel it ſhal not be beſt for us to fall to the loweſt fare firſt; we will not therefore deſcend to* Oxford *fare, nor to the fare of* New Inne, *but we will begin at* Lincolns-Inne *diet, where many right worſhipful and of good years do live full well; which if we find our ſelves not able the firſt year to maintain then will we the next year go one ſtep down to* New-Inne *fare, wherewith many an honeſt man is well contented:*

An incomprihble reſolution after ſo great an honour to bear cheartully ſo low an eſtate.

If

If that exceed our ability too, then we will the next year after deſcend to Oxford *fare, where many grave, learned, and ancient fathers are continually converſant; which if our purſes ſtretch not to maintain neither, then may we yet with bags and wallets go a begging together, and hoping that for pity ſome good people will beſtow on us their Charity, at every mans door ſing a* Salve Regina, *and ſo ſtill keep company, and be merry together.* Truly a worthy reſolution, wherein he ſeems to expreſs much love to his Children, but more to God; taking ſo patiently whatſoever might befal him: for ſurely he that provides for the worſt, will be much the better prepar'd to endure leſſer afflictions.

And whereas you have heard before how he was by the King from a very handſome livelihood, 400 *l. per annum*, taken into his Graces ſervice to deal in the greateſt and weightieſt Cauſes that concerned his Highneſſe and the Kingdome in which ſo painful cares and trouble, as well beyond the ſeas as

Honourable poverty in ſo great a perſonage.

at

at home, he had ſpent and conſumed in effect the whole ſubſtance of his life; yet with all the gain he got theeeby, being never a waſtful ſpender thereof, was he not able after the reſignation of his Office of the Lord Chancellor, for the maintainance of himſelf and ſuch as neceſſarily belonged unto him, ſufficiently to find meat, fuel, drink, apparel, and ſuch other neceſſary charges. All the land that ever he purchaſed (which alſo he purchaſed before he was Lord Chancellor) was not, ſaith Mr, *Rooper*, above the value of twenty mark a year. And after his debts paid, (as the ſame Mr. *Rooper* teſtifies) he had not (his Chain excepted) in Gold and Silver left him the worth of one hundred pounds, and therefore all his Children went to live of themſelves.

And whereas upon the holy dayes, during his High-Chancellorſhip, one of his Gentlemen, when ſervice at the Church was done, alwaies uſed to come to his Ladies pew, and ſaid, *Madam, My Lord is gone*

gone: the next holy day after the ſurrender of his Office and departure of his Gentlemen, he came to his Wives pew himſelf, and making a low congy, ſaid unto her, *Madam, My Lord is gone.* She imagining all this to be but ſome humour of his in order to ſome deſign, took little notice of it; but when upon the way as they were going home, he ſadly affirmed unto her that it was true what he ſaid; for he had reſigned up his Office, and the King had gratiouſly accepted it: ſhe being very ſorry to hear it ſaid unto him, *Tille valle, What will you do, Mr.* More? *will you ſit and make Goſlings in the Aſhes? Is it not better to rule, then to be ruled?* But to requite her brave mind, he began to find fault with her dreſſing, for which ſhe chiding her daughters that none of them could eſpy it, they ſtill ſaying they could find none: Sir *Tho.* merrily ſaid, *Do you not perceive that your Mothers noſe ſtandeth ſomewhat awry?* At which words ſhe ſtept away from him in a rage.

A pleaſant jeſt to divert his wife from ſorrow.

All which he did to make her think the leſſe of her decay of honour, which elſe would have much troubled her.

His remote preparations for ſuffering.

In the time ſomewhat before his troubles, he would diſcourſe with his wife and children, of the joies of Heaven, and pains of Hell: of the lives of holy Martyrs, what torments they endured for the love of God: of their marvellous patience, and of their paſſions and deaths, rather then they would offend God, and what a happy and bleſſed thing it was, for the love of God, to ſuffer loſſe of goods, impriſonment, loſſe of lands and life alſo: adding withall, that upon his faith if he might perceive his wife and children would incourage him to die in a good cauſe, it would make him merrily run to death. He told them afore hand what troubles were like to befal him; wherewith, and the like vertuous diſcourſe, he had ſo long before his troubles incouraged them, that when he after fell into them indeed, their afflictions were a great deal the leſſe: *Quia*

Continual talking of ſpiritual matters.

ſpicula

ſpicula prævisa minus lædunt.

Within a while after the reſignement of his Office, came Sir *Thomas Cromwel*, (then in the Kings high favour) to *Chelſey* to him in a meſſage from his Highneſſe, wherein when they had throughly conſ r'd together, Sir *Thomas* ſaid unto him, Mr. *Cromwel*, *You are now entred into the ſervice of a moſt noble, wiſe, and liberal Prince; if you will follow my poor advice, you ſhall in your Counſell giving unto his Majeſty, ever tell him what he ought to do, but never what he is able to do; ſo ſhal you ſhew your ſelf a true faithful Servant, and a right worthy Counſellor: for if the Lion knew his own ſtrength, hard were it for any man to rule him.*

A good leſſon for a States-man.

Shortly hereupon, was there a Commiſſion granted under the Great Seal, and directed to *Cranmer* then Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to determine the marriage between the King and Queen *Katharine* at St. *Albans*: where, according to the Kings mind, it was throughly concluded; who pretending he had no juſtice at the Popes hands, from

The marriage concluded at St. *Albans* to be lawfull.

thenceforth ſequeſtred himſelf and his Kingdome from the See of *Rome*, and ſo marryed the Lady *Anne Bullen:* which Sir *Thomas More* underſtanding, ſaid unto Mr. *Rooper*, God give grace, ſon, that theſe matters within a while be not confirm'd with Oaths.

Sir Thomas More refuſeth to be at Q. *Anns* marriag.

It fortuned not long before the comming of Queen *Anne* through the ſtreets of *London*, from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, to her Coronation, that Sir *Thomas* received a letter from the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Bath*, and *Winchester*, deſiring him to keep them company from the *Tower* to the Coronation, and alſo to take twenty pounds that by the Bearer thereof they had ſent him to buy him a Gown: which he thankfully receiving (yet tarrying ſtill at home) at their next meeting ſaid merrily unto them, *My Lords, in the letters which you lately ſent me, you requeſted two things of me, the one whereof ſith I was ſo well content to grant you, the other therefore I thought I might be the bolder to deny you.*

His counſell and predi&i-on to the Biſhops his ttle nds

And

And like as the one, because I took you for no beggars and my ſelf I knew to be no rich man, I thought I might the rather fulfill; ſo the other did put me in remembrance of an Emperour that had ordained a Law, that whoſoever committed a certain offence (which I now remember not) except it were a Virgin ſhould ſuffer death, ſuch a reverence had he to Virginity. Now ſo it hapned, that the firſt that violated this Law was a Virgin, whereof the Emperour hearing was in no ſmall perplexity, as he that by ſome example would fain have that Law put in execution: whereupon when his Councel had ſat long ſolemnly debating this Caſe, ſuddenly there roſe up one of his Counſel, a good plain man amongſt them, and ſaid, Why make you ſo much ado my Lords about ſo ſmall a matter? Let her firſt be deflowred, and then after may ſhe be devoured. And ſo though your Lordſhips have in the matter of the Matrimony hitherto kept your ſelves pure Virgins, yet take good heed, My Lords, that you keep your Virginity ſtill: for ſome there be that by procuring your Lordſhips firſt at the

A notable ſtory propheti cally app'yed.

His reſolution rather to be devoured then deflowred.

Coronation to be preſent, and next to preach for ſetting forth of it, and laſtly to write books to all the World in defence thereof, are deſirous to deflowr you, and then wil they not fail ſoon after to devour you. Now My Lords (ſaid he) *it lieth not in my power, but that they may devour me; but, God being my good Lord I will provide that they ſhal never deflowr me.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

1 *The beginning of the Kings indignation.*
2 *Sir* THOMAS MORE *diſpoſeth himſelf more immediately to ſuffer death.*
3 *Divers accuſations procured againſt Sir* THO. *all eaſily avoided by his innocencie.*
4 *The Nun of* Canterbury *firſt occaſion of calling Sir* T. M. *in Queſtion concerning Qu.* Anne.
5 *His firſt examination before the Kings Deputies.*
6 *His merry heart and gallant reſolution after his Examination.*

IN continuance when the King perceived that he could by no

means win him to his ſide; then beſiold the fair ſunſhine day of his favours became overcaſt, & there followed a notable ſtorm; for now he went about by terrour and threats to drive him thereto: But ſee how Sir *Thomas* prepares himſelf for this valiant combat; having given over his Office of Chancellorſhip he never medled with State matters any more, but gave himſelf wholy the year before his troubles not only to write books in defence of his Religion as I have ſaid, but alſo addicted himſelf to great acts of Mortification, prayer, and piety: he leſſened his family, he ſold his houſhold ſtuffe to the value of one hundred pounds, he diſpoſed his Children into their own houſes, and many nights he ſlept not for thinking the worſt that could happen unto him: he hired a Purſevant to come ſuddenly to his houſe when he was one time at dinner, and knocking haſtily at his door to warn him the next day to appear before the Commiſſioners,

The kings diſpleaſure

Sir Thomas his more immediate preparation for death.

A Chriſtian ſtratagem.

to

to arm his family the better for future calamities.

And now begin his troubles firſt by occaſion of a certain Nun dwelling in *Canterbury*, for her vertue and holineſſe not a little eſteemed of among the people in thoſe daies: unto whom for that cauſe many religious perſons, Doctors of Divinity, and divers Lay-men of good repute uſed to reſort: who affirming that ſhe had revelations from God to give the King warning of his wicked life, and of the abuſe of the ſword and authority committed to him, and underſtanding the Lord *Rocheſter*, Biſhop *Fiſher*, to be a man famous for his vertuous life and learning, went to *Rocheſter*, and there diſcloſed unto him all her revelations, deſiring his advice and counſell therein: who thereupon adviſed her (as ſhe before had warning, and intended) to go to the King her ſelf, and to let him underſtand the whole circumſtance thereof: whereupon ſhe went to the King and told him all her reve-

The firſt occaſion of calling him in queſtion for Q. *Anne*.

The Nun of *Kent* warned by revelation to rebuke *K. Henry*.

She conferreth her revelation with Biſh. *Fiſher*.

lations and ſo returned home again to her Cloyſter.

Her talk with Sir *Tho. More.*

Not long after, ſhe making a journey to the Nuns of *Sion*, by means of one Mr. *Reynold* a Father of that houſe, it hapned that ſhe fell into diſcourſe with Sir *Thomas More* concerning ſuch ſecrets as had been revealed unto her. Sir *Thomas* (as it after appeared) in all his communications with her, had ſo diſcreetly demeaned himſelf that he deſerved not to be blamed, but contrarily commended and praiſed.

Accuſations procured againſt Sir *Tho. More.* That he impugned the Kings marriage.

After the Divorce was pronounced, there was a book put out by authority from the Councel, which laid down the reaſons why this divorce was done: ſtraight after, it was rumoured abroad, that Sir *Thomas More* had anſwered and confuted this Book. Of which ſlander Sir *Thomas* cleared himſelf by a letter to Mr. *Cromwel* then Secretary, and in the Kings great favour; ſhewing by many Arguments, that he neither would nor could confute

ſute that Book: which urging re-
large in the latter end omediately
mas his works. Butler *to*

But for all his purging in *drank* accuſations came thick and tilged ſold upon him; and, had he not been one of ſingular integrity, (that in all his great offices and doings for the King and Kingdome ſo many years together, had from all corruption, wrong doing, or bribes taking kept himſelf ſo clear that no man was able once to blemiſh him therewith) without doubt every light matter (in this troubleſome time of the Kings indignation to him) had been deeply laid to his charge, and of the King at that time moſt favorably accepted, as in the Caſe of one *Parnel* it moſt manifeſtly appeared. This *Parnel* grievouſly complained againſt Sir *Thomas More*, becauſe, when he was Lord Chancellor, at the ſuit of one *Vaughan* his adverſary, he had made a decree againſt him; for which at his wives hand (Mr. *Vaughan* himſelf being unable for the Gowt to

Barrels picked againſt his Chancellorſhip.

A ſuppoſed Bribe pleaſantly confuted

travel

lations and ſo) Sir *Thomas* had re-
to her C[illegible]reat gilt Cup as a bribe:
Her talk Not hearing of which accuſati-
Sir journe[illegible] *Thomas* by the Kings ap-
pointment being called before the whole Councel, where that matter was hainouſly laid to his charge, preſently confeſſed, that forasmuch as that Cup was long after the foreſaid decree brought him for a new-years-gift, he upon her importunat preſſing on him, therefore of courteſie refuſed not to receive it. Then the Lord of *Wiltſhire* (Queen *Anns* father and preferrer of this ſuit) (who hated Sir *Thomas More*, becauſe he had not conſented to his daughters marriage) with much joy ſaid unto the Lords, Lo my Lords, did not I tell you that you ſhould find the matter true? Whereupon Sir *Th mas* deſired their honours that as they had courteouſly heard him tell the one part of his Tale, ſo they would vouchſafe of their honours indifferently to hear the other: which being granted, he further declared, that although he had

had indeed with much urging received that Cup, yet immediately thereupon he cauſed his Butler *to fill it with Wine, and therein drank to her*; and when ſhe had pledged him, *Then as freely as her husband had given it to him, even ſo freely gave he the ſame unto her again to give unto her husband for his New-years-gift*: which at his inſtant requeſt, though much againſt her will, yet at length ſhe was fain to receive, as her ſelf and certain others before them there preſently depoſed. Thus was the great mountain converted (ſcarſe) to a little molehill.

A courteous refuſal of an honeſt reward.

At another time, upon a New-years-day too, there came unto him one Miſtreſſe *Croaker* a very rich Gentlewoman, for whom with no ſmall pains he had made a Decree in Chancery againſt the Lord *Arundel* (never fearing in an act of juſtice, any nobility of blood or greatneſſe of perſonage) who preſented him with a pair of Gloves and forty pounds in Angels in them for a New-years-gift, of

of whom he thankfully received the Gloves, but refuſing the Money ſaid unto her; *Miſtreſſe, Since it were againſt good manners to forſake a Gentlewomans New-years gift, I am content to take your Gloves; but as for the lining I utterly refuſe it*: and ſo cauſed her to take her gold again; though much againſt her mind.

Another of like nature.

And one Mr. *Greſham* having at the ſame time a Cauſe depending in the Chancery againſt him, ſent him, for a New-years-gift, a fair guilded Cup: the faſhion whereof pleaſed him ſo well, that he cauſed one of his own (though not in his fancy of ſo good a faſhion, yet better in value) to be brought out of his Chamber, which he deſired the meſſenger in recompence to deliver to his Maſter; and under no other conditions would he in any wiſe receive it.

Many things more of like effect for the declaration of this mans innocency and clearneſſe from all corruption or evil affection, might be here rehearſed, which for tediouſneſſe

diouſneſs ſake are purpoſely omitted, it being referred to the Readers by thoſe few fore-mentioned examples wiſely to weigh & conſider:

At the Parliament following there was a Bill put into the lower Houſe to attach the Nun, and divers other religious perſons, of high treaſon; and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *Thomas More*, and ſome other of miſpriſion of treaſon; The King preſuppoſing that this Bill would be ſo grievous and terrible unto Sir *Thomas More*, that it would force him to relent and condeſcend to his requeſt: wherein his Highneſſe, as it afterwards appeared, was much miſtaken: for Sir *Thomas More* ſued that he might be admitted into the Parliament to make his own defence perſonally; which the King not liking aſſigned the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Mr. *Cromwel*, at a day and place appointed, to call Sir *Thomas More* before them.

Sir *Thomas* his firſt examinatinn.

The kings Deputies to attach Sir *Thomas More*.

At

Their fair words to win him.

At whoſe appearance according to their appointment, they entertained him very friendly, deſiring him to ſit down amongſt them, which in no wiſe he would do. Then began the Lord Chancellor to declare unto him, how many wayes the King had ſhewed his love and favour to him, how fain he would have had him continue in his Office, how glad he would have been to have heaped more favours upon him; and laſtly, how he could ask no worldly honour and profit at his Highneſſe hands that were likely to be denyed him, hoping by the declaration of the Kings kindneſſe and affection towards him, to cauſe him to recompenſe his Grace with the like again; and unto thoſe things the Parliament the Biſhops and Univerſities had already ſubſcribed, to add his conſent alſo.

Fairly anſwered with a mild and conſtant refuſal.

To this Sir *Thomas More* mildly made anſwer, ſaying, *No man living is there (My Lords), that would with better will do any thing that ſhould*

be

be acceptable to the Kings Highneſſe then my ſelf, who muſt needs confeſſe his great favours and bountiful goodneſs moſt liberally beſtowed on me; howbeit I verily hoped that I ſhould never have heard of this matter more, conſidering that I have from time to time alwaies from the beginning ſo plainly and truly declared my mind unto his Grace, which his Higneſſe to me ever ſeemed, like a moſt gracious Prince to accept, never intending (as he then ſaid) to moleſt me more therewith: ſince which time any further thing that was able to move me to any change, could I never find; and if I could, there is none in all the world could have been gladder of it then I.

Many ſpeeches more concerning this were uttered on both ſides, but in the end when they ſaw they could by no manner of perſwaſions remove him from his former determination, then began they more terribly to threaten him, telling him that the Kings Highneſſe had commanded them if they could by no gentleneſſe win him, in

The Deputies threats.

in his name to charge him with his great ingratitude, that never was there ſervant to his Soveraign ſo villanous, nor ſubject to his Prince ſo traiterous as he: For he by his ſubtile ſiniſter ſleights (moſt unnaturally procuring and provoking him to ſet forth a book of *the aſſertion of the ſeven Sacraments and maintenance of the Popes Authority*) had cauſed him to his diſhonour throughout all Chriſtendome to put a ſword in the Popes hands t fight againſt himſelf. When they had thus laid forth all the terrour they could againſt him.

Sir *Thomas More* accuſed for Author of the Kings Book for the Pope.

My Lords (ſaid he) *Theſe terrours be arguments for Children, not for me; but to anſwer that wherewith you do chiefly charge me, I believe the Kings Highneſſe of his honour will never lay that to my charge; for none is there that can in that point ſay more in mine excuſe then his Highneſſe himſelf, who right well knoweth that I never was Procurer nor Counſellor of his Majeſty thereto: but after it was finiſhed, by his Graces appointment, and conſent of the*

His evident refutation.

the makers of the ſame, I was only a ſorter out and placer of, the principal matters therein contained; wherein I found the Popes Authority highly advanced, and with ſtrong Arguments highly defended. I ſaid unto his Majeſty, I muſt put your Highneſſe in remembrance of one thing, and that is this; The Pope, as your Grace knoweth, is a Prince as you are, and in league with all other Chriſtian Princes; it may hereafter ſo fall out that your Grace and he may vary upon ſome points of the league whereupon may grow breach of amity and war between you both: I think it beſt that that place be amended and his authority more ſlenderly touched. "*Nay,*" *ſaid his Grace, that ſhall not be; we* "*are ſo much bounden to the See of* "*Rome, that we cannot do too much* "*honour unto it. Then did I further put him in mind of the Statute of Præmunire, whereby a good part of the Popes paſtoral cure was pared away.* To that anſwered his Highneſſe, "*What ſoever impediment be to the con-*"*trary, we will ſet forth that Autho-*"*rity to the uttermoſt: for we received* "*from*

Wiſe and wary counſel of Sir *Tho.* to the King.

The King acknowledgeth the obligation of his Crown to *Rome.*

"*from the See of Rome our Crown im-*
"*perial: Which till his Grace with*
his own mouth told it me, I never heard
of before. So that I truſt, when that
his Majeſty ſhall be truly informed of
this, and call to his graciꝰus remem-
brance my dealing in that behalf, his
Highneſſe will never ſpeak of it more,
but clear me throughly therein himſelf.
With which words in great diſpleaſure they diſmiſſed him and departed.

His merry heart after his examination.

Then took Sir *Thomas More* his Boat towards *Chelſey*, where by the way he was very merry; which Mr. *Rooper* much rejoiced at, ſuppoſing that he had got himſelf diſcharg'd out of the Bill. When he was landed and come home they walked in his Garden, where Mr. *Rooper* ſaid unto him, I truſt Sir all is well becauſe you are ſo merry. *It is ſo indeed ſon I thank God.* Are you then put out of the Parliament Bill, ſaid Mr. *Rooper? By my troth Son I never remembred that:* Never remembred it! Sir, ſaid he, a Caſe that toucheth your ſelf ſo near, and

and us all for your ſake! I am very ſorry to hear it, for I verily truſted, when I ſaw you merry, that all had been well. Then replyed Sir *Thomas*, *would'ſt thou know ſon, why I was ſo merry? In good faith I rejoiced that I had given the Divel ſo foul a fall, and that with thoſe Lords I had gone ſo far, as without great ſhame I could never go back again.*

A fall given to the Devil.

Now upon the report made by my Lord Chancellor and the other Lords to the King of Sir *Thomas More's* examination, the King was ſo much offended with him, that he plainly told them, he was fully determined that the foreſaid Parliament Bill ſhould certainly proceed forth againſt him: to whom the Lord Chancellor and the reſt of the Lords ſaid, that they perceived the upper houſe ſo powerfully bent to hear Sir *Thomas* make anſwer in his own defence, that if he were not put out of the Bill, it would without fail be an utter overthrow to all: but for all this, the King would needs have his own

The Kings indignation againſt Sir *Tho. More.*

own will, or elſe he ſaid he would be perſonally preſent himſelf at the paſſing of it. Then the Lord *Audley* and the reſt, ſeeing he was ſo vehemently ſet upon it, on their knees moſt humbly beſought his Grace to forbear, conſidering, that if he ſhould in his own preſence receive an overthrow, it would not only encourage his Subjects ever after to contemn him, but alſo redound to his diſhonour for ever throughout all Chriſtendome: telling him, that they doubted not in time to find ſome better occaſion to ſerve his Graces turn; for in this caſe of the Nun, he was accounted, they ſaid, ſo innocent and clear, that for his dealing therein men thought him worthier of praiſe then reproof. Whereupon at length, through their earneſt perſwaſion, he was content to condeſcend to their Petition, and on the morrow after, Mr. *Cromwell* meeting *Mr. Rooper* in the Parliament Houſe, wiſhed him to tell his Father, that he was put out of the Parliament

Prudent and politique advice in ſo bad a Cauſe.

Proceeding againſt Sir *Tho. More* deferred.

Parliament Bill, who becauſe he had that day appointed to dine in *London*, ſent the meſſage by his ſervant to his Wife at *Chelſey*, whereof when ſhe informd her father, In faith *Meg*, ſaid he, *Quod differtur, non aufertur.*

A gallant anſwer to a friends fear.

After this the Duke of *Norfolk* and Sir *Thomas More* chanced to fal in diſcourſe together, and amongſt other talk, the Duke ſaid unto him, *By the maſſe, Mr.* More, *it is perilous ſtriving with Princes, and therefore I would wiſh you ſomewhat to incline to the Kings pleaſure: for, By Gods Body* Mr. More, Indignatio Principis Mors eſt. *Is that all?* (*My Lord*) ſaid Sir Thomas: *Then in good faith is there no more differ ence betwixt your Grace and me, but that I ſhall dye to day, and you to morrow.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

1 *Sir* THOMAS MORE *refuſeth the Oath of Supremacy and ſucceſſion.*

2 *Sir* THOMAS MORE's *impriſonment firſt in* Weſtminſter, *then in the Tower.*

3 *His diſcourſe with his daughter* Margaret.

4 *A Dialogue between him and his Wife the Lady* MORE.

5 *Mr.* Rich *his Caſe.*

6 *His Books taken from him.*

The Oath of ſupremacy.

NOw it fell out within a month or thereabouts, after the enacting of the Statute for the Oath of the Supremacy and Matrimony

trimony, that all the Prieſts of *London* and *Weſtminſter* (yet no temporal man but Sir *Thomas More*) were ſummoned to appear at *Lambeth* before the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary *Cromwell*, Commiſſioners appointed there to tender the Oath unto them. Sir *Tho.* cited to take it.

Then Sir *Thomas More*, as his cuſtome was alwaies, ere he entred into any buſineſſe of importancy, (as when he was firſt choſen one of the Kings privy Councel, when he was ſent Embaſſadour, appointed Speaker of the Parliament, made Lord Chancellour, or took any ſuch weighty matter upon him) firſt to go to Church and be confeſſed, to hear Maſſe and receive the Sacrament, ſo did he likewiſe in the morning early the very day that he was ſummoned to appear before the Lords at *Lambeth*: and whereas he uſed alwaies before at his departure from his Wife and Children whom he tenderly loved, to have them bring him to his His preparation before his going.

Boat, and there he kiſſing them all bad them farewell, now he would ſuffer none of them to come forth of the Gate, but pulled the wicket after him, and with a heavy heart (as by his countenance it appeared) with his Son *Rooper*, and their four ſervants, he took boat towards *Lambeth*, wherein ſitting ſtill ſadly a while, at laſt he rounded his Son in the ear, and ſaid, Son *Rooper*, *I thank our Lord, the field is Won.* What he meant thereby his Son wiſt not, yet loth to ſeem ignorant, he anſwered, *Sir I am very glad of it.*

His diſcreet behaviour in that cauſe.

How wiſely he demeaned himſelf before the Comiſſioners at the miniſtration of the Oath unto him may be found in certain letters of his ſent to his Daughter *Margaret*, which are printed at the latter end of his Engliſh works, the effect whereof is this: After he was called before them, he requeſted of them to ſee the Oath, which when he had read unto himſelf, he anſwered, *That he neither would find fault*

fault with the Oath, nor with the Authors of it, nor would blame the Conſcience of any man that had taken it, but for himſelf he could not take it without endangering his ſoul of eternal damnation; which if they doubted of, he would ſwear unto them that that was the chief cauſe of his refuſal; in which ſecond Oath if they doubted to truſt him, how could they then truſt him in the former? Which he having ſaid, my Lord Chancellor replyed, *That all there were heartily ſorry he ſhould make ſuch an anſwer, for they conſtantly affirmed that he was the firſt man that denyed to take it, which would greatly aggravate the Kings diſpleaſure againſt him.* And forthwith they ſhewed him a Catalogue of the Nobility, and many others who had taken it, and had ſubſcribed their names thereunto.

He refuſeth the Oath for conſcience ſake.

Yet becauſe he would not blame any mans conſcience therein, he was commanded to walk into the Garden a while, then preſently all the Clergy men, ſome Biſhops, many Doctors, and Prieſts, were called

All the Clergie but Biſh. *Fiſher* and D. *Wilſon* did take the Oath.

led in, who all took it, except Bishop *Fisher*, and one Doctor *Wilson*) without any scruple at all.

Upon what conditions *Sir Tho.* offered to set down his reasons of refusal.

After all these had soon dispatched the businesse for which they were sent for, Sir *Thomas* was called in again, and the names of all that had taken the Oath were shewed him, whereunto for himself he answered as before: then they often objected unto him obstinacy, because he would neither take it, nor give any reason why he refused it; to which he replyed, *That his denial only would provoke the Kings indignation sufficiently against him, and therefore he was loth any further to aggravate his displeasure,* (shewing what urgent necessity drew him unto it; *howbeit if his Majesty would testifie that his expressing the Causes wherefore he refused it would not provoke against him his further anger, he would not stick to set them down in writing, and if any man could satisfie those reasons to the content of his conscience, he would take the Oath most willingly.* Then *Cranmer* Lord Archbishop

biſhop urged unto him, *that ſeeing he was not certain of his Conſcience, but that it was a thing certain, he muſt obey his Prince, therefore was he to reject that doubtful conſcience of his, and ſtick to the latter which was undoubted.*

Sir Tho. More's offer proceedeth not of uncertainty, but becauſe he was ſure his reaſons were unanſwerable.

And when the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* had ſaid, *that he might very well ſuſpect his own conſcience to be erroneous, becauſe he alone would ſeem to controll all the Wiſdome of the whole Realm, who had made and taken it:* Thereto Sir *Thomas* anſwered, *That if he alone ſhould ſtand againſt ſo worthy a Kingdome, he had great cauſe to fear his own conſcience: but, if that on his ſide he could produce a farre greater number, of as learned men as they; he thought himſelf then not bound to reform his conſcience by following the conſent of one Kingdome againſt a general received opinion of the whole Chriſtian world.*

All Chriſtendome of more authority then all *England*.

Then asked they him whether he would ſwear to the ſucceſſion: to which he anſwered, *That he was willing enough to do that, if the Oath*

The Oath of ſucceſſion.

were set down in such words as he might safely take it. Then said the Lord Chancellor, *See Mr. Secretary, he will not swear to that neither, but under a certain form of words. No truly*, replyed Sir Thomas, *except I find that I may swear it without danger of perjury, and with a safe Conscience.*

Sir Tho. More's imprisonment first in West-minster.

When he had thus behaved himself, he was committed to the custody of the Abbot of *Westminster* for four daies, during which time the King consulted with his Councel, what order were best to be taken with him; and although at first they resolved he should be discharged with an Oath not to be known whether he had sworn to the Supremacy or no, or what he thought thereof, yet Queen *Anne* by her importunate clamour did so sore exasperate the King against him, that contrary to his former resolution, he caused the said Oath of the Supremacy to be ministred unto him: who although he made a discreet qualified answer, nevertheless

Then by Q. Annes importunity in the Tower.

theleſſe was preſently committed to the Tower: who as he was going thither (wearing as he commonly did a chain of Gold about his neck) Sir *Rich. Wink field* that had the charge of his conveyance thither, adviſed him to ſend home his Chain to his Wife or ſome of his children, *Nay Sir*, ſaid he, *that I will not, for if I were taken in the field by mine enemies, I would they ſhould ſomewhat fare the better for me.*

At his landing Mr. Lieutenant at the Tower-gate was ready to receive him, where the Porter demanded of him his upper garment, Mr. *Porter*, ſaid he, *here it is*, and took off his Cap and gave it him, ſaying, *I am ſorry it is no better for thee.* No Sir, ſaid the Porter, *I muſt have your Gown*; which he gave him. And ſo was he by Mr. Lieutenant conveyed to his lodging, where he called unto him one *John Wood* his ſervant there appointed to attend him, who could neither write nor read, and

The upper garment the Porters Fee.

His mans Oath.

ſware him before the Lieutenant, *that if he ſhould hear or ſee him at any time ſpeak or write any manner of thing againſt the King, the Councell, or the State of the Realm, he ſhould tell it to the Lieutenant that he might preſantly reveal it to the Councel.*

His diſcourſe with his daughter *Margaret.*

Now when Sir *Thomas* had remained in the Tower ſomething more then a month, his daughter *Margaret* longing to ſee him, at length got leave to go to him; at

Prevented with Prayers.

whoſe comming, after the ſeven Pſalmes and Letany ſaid (which whenſoever ſhe came to him, before he would talk of any worldly affairs, he uſed to ſay with her;)

The comfort he found in his impriſonment.

among other diſcourſe he ſaid unto her, *I believe* Meg *that they which have put me here think they have done me a high diſpleaſure, But I aſſure you on my Faith, (mine own good daughter) that if it had not been for my wife and you my children whom I account the chief part of my charge, I would not have failed long ere this, to have cloſed my ſelf in as ſtraight a room as this and ſtraighter too: But ſince I am come hither*

hither without my own deſert, I truſt that God of his goodneſſe will diſcharge me of my care, and by his gratious help ſupply the want of my preſence among you: I find no cauſe (I thank God) Meg *to reckon my ſelf in worſe caſe here, then in mine own houſe. For me thinketh God maketh me a wanton, and ſetteth me on his lap and dandleth me.* Thus by his gracious demeanour in his troubles, it evidently appeared, that al the calamities that ever befell him, by his patient ſufferance of them were to him no painfull puniſhments, but rather profitable exerciſes of his patience.

Sir *Thomas More* foretelleth Q. *Annes* death.

And at another time, when he had firſt enquired of his daughter concerning the order of his wife, and children, and ſtate of his family in his abſence, he asked her how Queen *Anne* did, *In faith father* (ſaid ſhe) *never better, there is nothing elſe in the Court but dancing, and ſporting. Never better* Meg! (ſaid he) *Alas*, Meg, *Alas, it pitieth me to remember into what miſery poor ſoul ſhe ſhall ſhortly come, but in the mean*

time theſe dances of hers will prove ſuch dances, that they will ſpurn our heads off like footbals.

His pleaſant anſwer to his Keepers honeſt excuſe.

After this Mr. Lieutenant coming into his Chamber to viſit him related unto him the many favours and friendſhips he had often received at his hands, and therefore how much bound he was friendly and nobly to entertain him, which ſince (the Caſe ſtanding as it did) he could not do without the Kings diſpleaſure, he truſted, he ſaid, he would accept of his good will, and ſuch poor fare as he had: *Maſter Lieutenant* (ſaid Sir Thomas More again) *I verily believe, as you may, ſo are you my good friend indeed, and would, as you ſay, with your beſt cheer entertain me; for which I moſt heartily thank you; and aſſure your ſelf, Maſter Lieutenant, I do not miſlike my cheer, but whenſoever I do, then thruſt me out of your doors.*

The ignorance of the Oath-makers.

Now, whereas the Oath of Supremacy, and Matrimony, was in the firſt ſtatute compiled in few words, the Lord Chancellor and

and the Secretary did of their own heads adde more words unto it, to make it appear unto the Kings ears more pleasant and plausible; and that Oath so amplyfied, they then caused to be tendred to Sir *Thomas More* and others throughout the Kingdome: which Sir *Thomas* perceiving, said unto his daughter, *I may tell thee* Meg, *they that have committed me hither, for refusing of this Oath not agreeable with the Statute, are not able by their own law to justifie my imprisonment: and surely daughter it is great pitty that any Christian Prince should by a flexible Councel ready to follow his affections, with flattery so shamefully be abused.* But at length the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary espying their oversight in that business, were fain afterwards to cause another Statute to be enacted for the confirmation of the Oath so amplyfied with their additions.

As Sir *Thomas* (looking out of his window) chanced to see one Mr. *Raynolds* a Father of *Sion*, and three

His meditation on death upon the execution of 24 Religious men.

three Monks of the *Charter-houſe*, for the buſineſſe of the Matrimony and Supremacy going out of the Tower to their execution, he, as longing to accompany them in that journey, ſaid unto his daughter, then ſtanding by him, *Loe, doſt thou not ſee* (Meg) *that theſe reverend Fathers are as chearfully going to their deaths as bridgrooms to their marriage; wherefore hereby maiſt thou ſee* (*mine own good daughter*) *what a great difference there is between ſuch as have in effect ſpent all their daies in a ſtraight hard, painful, and penitential life religiouſly, and ſuch as have in the world like worldly wretches* (*as thy poor father*) *conſumed all their time in pleaſure and eaſe, licentiouſly: for God conſidering their long continued life in moſt ſore and grievous pain, will no longer ſuffer them to remain here in this vale of miſery and iniquity, but ſpeedily taketh them hence to the fruition of his everlaſting Deity: whereas thy ſilly Father* (Meg) *that like a moſt wicked Caitiffe hath paſſed forth the whole courſe of his life moſt ſinfully; God thinking him not worthy*

to

to come ſo ſoon to that eternal felicity, leaveth him here yet ſtill in the world further to be prolonged and turmoiled with miſery.

A while after Mr. Secretary coming to him into the Tower from the King, pretended much friendſhip towards him, and for his comfort told him, *That the King was his good and gracious Lord, and intended not any more to trouble his conſcience with any thing, wherein he ſhould have cauſe of ſcruple.* As ſoon as Mr. Secretary was gone, to expreſſe how much comforted he was by his words, he wrote with a coal, (for then he had no inke) theſe verſes following. *Secretary Cromwel his viſit.*

Eye flattering fortune, look thou ne're ſo fair,
Nor ne're ſo pleaſantly begin to ſmile,
As though thou wouldſt my ruine all repair,
During my life thou ſhalt not me beguile
Truſt I ſhall God to enter in a while.

Thy

Thy haven of Heaven, ſure and uniform,
Ever after thy Calm look I for no ſtorm.

A pretty dialogue between Sir *Tho. More* and his Lady

When Sir *Thomas More* had continued a good while in the Tower his Lady obtained leave to ſee him, who, at her firſt coming, thus bluntly ſaluted him: *What the good year Maſter More*, ſaid ſhe, *I marvel that you that have been alwaies taken for ſo wiſe a man will now ſo play the fool, as to lye here in this cloſe filthy priſon, and be content thus to be ſhut up amongſt mice and rats: and too when you might be abroad at your liberty, and with the favour and good will both of the King and his Councell, if you would but do as all the Biſhops and beſt learned of the Realm have done; and ſeeing you have at* Chelſey *a right fair Houſe, your Library, your Gallery, your Garden, your Orchard, and all other neceſſaries ſo handſome about you, where you might in the company of me your Wife, your Children, and houſhold be merry: I muſe what a Gods name you mean*

mean here ſtill thus fondly to tarry. After he had a while quietly heard her, with a very chearful countenance he ſaid unto her, *Good* Mrs. Alice *tell me one thing.* *What is that?* (ſaid ſhe) *Is not this houſe as nigh heaven as mine own?* To whom ſhe (as not liking theſe words) anſwered after her manner, *Tille valle, Tille vale.* *How ſay you, Mrs.* Alice, ſaid he, *is it not ſo?* Bone Deus, Bone Deus *man, Will this gear never be left* (ſaid ſhe.) *Well then, Mrs.* Alice, *if it be ſo it is very well; but for my part I ſee no great cauſe why I ſhould much joy in my gay houſe, or of any thing belonging thereunto, when if I ſhould but ſeven years lye buried under ground, and then ariſe and come thither again, I ſhould not fail to find ſome therein that would bid me get me out of doors, and tell me it were none of mine What cauſe have I then to like ſuch a houſe as would ſo ſoon forget his Maſter? Again, tell me Mrs.* Alice, *how long do you think may we live and enjoy it?* *Some twenty years,* ſaid ſhe. *Truly,* ſaid Sir Thomas, *if you had ſaid ſome thouſand years,*

His anſwer.

The priſ nas neer heaven as his own houſe.

Eternity to be preferred before Temporality.

years, it had been ſomewhat, and yet he were a very bad Merchant, that would put him ſelf in danger to loſe Eternity, for a thouſand years; how much the rather if we are not ſure to enjoy it one day to an end? And thus her perſwaſions moved him but little.

Another viſit.

Not long after came there to him, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with Secretary *Cromwel*, and ſome others of the privy Councell at two ſeveral times, to procure him by all means, either preciſely to confeſſe the Kings Supremacy, or plainly to deny it; whereunto as appeareth by his examination ſet out in his Engliſh works, they could never bring him, becauſe he was unwilling to aggravate the Kings diſpleaſure againſt himſelf, ſaying only, *That the Statute was like a two edged ſword; if he ſpoke againſt it, he ſhould procure the death of his body; if he conſented to it, he ſhould purchaſe the death of his ſoul.*

Shortly hereupon Mr. *Rich*, (afterward Lord *Rich*) then newly made

made the Kings Solicitour, Sir *Ri. Southwell* and one *Mr. Palmer* the Secretaries ſervant, were ſent by the King to take away all his Books: Mr. *Rich* pretending friendly diſcourſe with Sir *Thomas*, ſaid unto him (as it proved after) of ſet purpoſe: "Forasmuch as it "is well known Mr. *More*, that "you are a man both wiſe, and "well learned, as well in the Laws "of the Realm as otherwiſe, I "pray you Sir let me be ſo bold "as of good will to put unto you "this caſe; Admit there were an "Act of Parliament made, that "all the Realm ſhould take me for "King, would not you (Mr. *More*) "take me for King? *Yes Sir*, ſaid Sir *Thomas More, that would I.* "I "put caſe further, ſaid *Mr. Rich*, "That there were an Act of Parli-"ament, that all the Realm ſhould "take me for Pope, would not "you then take me for Pope? *For anſwer*, ſaid Sir *Thomas, to your firſt Caſe, the Parliament may well meddle with the ſtate of Temporal Princes;*

Mr. *Rich* his Caſe

ces; but to make anſwer to your other caſe, I will put you this Caſe: Suppoſe the Parliament would make a Law that God ſhould not be God, would you then Mr. Rich ſay that God ſhould not be God? " No Sir, ſaid he, ſince no Parliam. " may make ſuch a Law: *No More* (as Mr. *Rich* reported Sir *Tho* ſhould ſay, but yet he made no ſuch inference as he vouchſafed after to M. *R.* his face) *could the Parliament make the King ſupreme head of the Church.* Upon which report of Mr. *Rich's* Sir *Thomas* was ſhortly after indited of high treaſon upon the new Statute of Supremacy, in which it was made treaſon to deny the King to be the Supream head of the Church, into which judgment were put theſe hainous words, *Malitiouſly*, *traiterouſly*, and *Diabolically.*

Surely a poor ground for an Inditement of Treaſon.

An accident very remarkable if true at the taking away of his Books.

He had a little before this begun a Divine Treatiſe of *the paſſion of Chriſt*; and as ſome write, when he came to expound thoſe words of the Goſpell, (*And they laid hands upon him, and held him*) theſe Gentlemen

men took from him all his Books, Inke, and Paper, ſo that he could go on no further. Which being done he applyed himſelf wholly to meditation, keeping his Chamber windows faſt ſhut and very dark, the occaſion whereof the Lieutenant of the Tower asking him: He anſwered, *When all the wares are gone the ſhop windows are to be ſhut up.*

His merry jeſt upon it.

When Sir *Thomas More* was brought from the Tower to *Weſtminſter-Hall* to anſwer the inditement, and thereupon arraigned at the Kings-Bench Bar, where he had often asked his Fathers bleſſing, he openly told the Judges that he would have abidden in law and demurr'd upon the inditement but that he thereby ſhould have been driven to confeſſe of himſelf that he had denyed the Kings *Supremacy*, which he proteſted he never did: wherefore he thereto pleaded not guilty, and reſerved to himſelf advantage to be taken of the body of the matter after verdict, to avoid that inditement: adding

The ſubſtance of the inditement.

ding withall, that if only thoſe odious terms, *Maliciouſly*, *Traiterouſly*, and *Diabolically* were taken out of the Inditement, he ſaw nothing in it that ſhould juſtly charge him of any Treaſon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

1 *Sir* THOMAS MORE's *Arraignment.*

2 *His anſwer to the Indite-ment.*

3 *Mr.* Rich *his Oath againſt Sir* Thomas More *clearly rejected.*

4. *Sentance of Death pronoun-ced againſt Sir* Thomas More.

NOw when the King had endevoured all means poſſible to get Sir *Thomas* his conſent to his laws, (as knowing that his example would draw many more after him, being a man ſo eminent for wiſdome and rare vertues) and could no way obtain his deſire, he commanded him to be called to his

The Arraignment of Sir *Tho. More.*

his arraignment at the Kings-Bench-Barre, having been priſoner at the Tower ſomwhat more then a twelvemonth: whither he went leaning on his ſtaffe, becauſe he had been much weakned by his impriſonment, his countenance ſhewing much chearfulneſſe and reſolution. His Inditement (which was very long and odious) was read by the Kings Atturny: which being ended, the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſpoke to this effect unto him. *You ſee now how grievouſly you have offended his Majeſty yet he is ſo merciful, that if you will but leave your obſtinacy, and change your opinion, we hope you may obtain pardon of his Highneſſe.*

His Inditement. The Judges charges.

Whereunto Sir *Thomas* reſolutely replyed thus: "Moſt noble "Lords, *I* have great cauſe to "thank your Honours for this "your courteſie; but *I* beſeech "Almighty God that I may con-"tinue in the mind I am in "through his Grace unto death.

His reſolution.

After this he was permitted to

ſay

ſay what he could in his own defence in anſwer to his Inditement, who thereupon began as followeth.

Sir *Thomas* his anſwer to the inditement.

"When I think how long my "accuſation is, and what hainous "matters are laid to my charge, I "am ſtrucken with fear leſt my "memory and wit, both which "are decaied together with the "health of my body through a "long impediment contracted by "my impriſonement, be not now "able to anſwer theſe things on "the ſuddain, as I ought, and o-"therwiſe could.

After this, there was brought him a chair, on which when he was ſat he proceeded thus.

"There are four principal heads "if I be not deceived, of this my "Inditement, every one of which "(God willing) I purpoſe to an-"ſwer in order. To the firſt that "is objected againſt me, to wit, "That I have been an enemy of a "ſtubborneſs of mind to the Kings "ſecond marriage; I confeſſe that

1. How ſincerely he had alwaies told the *King* his mind concerning the marriage.

I

"I alwaies told the King my opini-
"on therein as my conſcience dic-
"tated unto me, which I neither
"would or ought to have concea-
"led; I am ſo far from thinking
"my ſelf guilty of high Treaſon,
"as that, on the contrary, I being
"demanded my opinion by ſo
"great a Prince in a matter of
"ſuch importance, whereupon the
"quietneſſe of a Kingdome depen-
"deth, If I ſhould have baſely flat-
"tered him againſt my own Con-
"ſcience, and not uttered the truth
"as I thought, then I ſhould wor-
"thily have been accounted a
"wicked ſubject, and a perfidious
"traitor to God.

"Herein I had offended the
"King (if it can be an offence to
"tell ones mind plainly when our
"Prince asketh us) I ſuppoſe I have
"been already puniſhed enough
"for this fault with moſt grievous
"afflictions, with the loſs of all my
"goods, and committed to perpe-
"tual impriſonment, having been
"ſhut up already almoſt theſe
"fifteen

The continuation of his impriſonment and afflictions.

"fifteen moneths.

"My ſecond accuſation is, that "I have tranſgreſſed the Statute "in the laſt Parliament, that is to "ſay, being a Priſoner and twice "examined by the Lords of the "Councell, I would not diſcloſe "unto them my opinion (of a ma- "lignant, perfidious, obſtinate and "traiterous mind) whether the Ki. "were Supreme head of the Church "or no, but anſwerd them that "this Law belonged not unto me, "whether it were juſt or unjuſt, "becauſe I did not enjoy any be- "nefit from the Church; yet I then "proteſted, that I never had ſaid "or done any thing againſt it, nei- "ther can any one word or action "of mine be produced, to make me "culpable; yea this I confeſſe was "then my ſpeech unto their Ho- "nours, that hereafter I would "think of nothing elſe, but of the "bitter paſſion of our bleſſed Savi- "our, and of my paſſage out of this "miſerable world. I wiſh no harm "to any, and if this wil not keep "me

2. Why he refuſed to tell his judgment of the law of Supremacy.

Lay-men not concerned in this Law.

"me alive, I desire not to live. By
"al which I know that I could not
"transgresse any Law, or incurre
"any crime of treason; for neither
"this Statute nor any Law in the
"world can punish any man for
"holding his peace; for they only
"can punish either words or deeds
"God only being Judge of our se-
"cret thoughts.

No law can punish silence that is without malice.

At which words, because indeed they were very urgent, the Kings Atturney interrupted him, and said *Although we have not one word or deed of yours to object against you, yet have we your Silence, which is an evident sign of a malitious mind, because no dutifull subject, being lawfully asked this question, will refuse to answer.* To which Sir *Thomas* answered; "My silence
"is no sign of any malicious mind;
"which the King himself may
"know by many of my dealings,
"neither doth it convince any
"man of breach of your Law. For
"it is a Maxim amongst the *Civi-*
"*lians*, and *Canonists*: *Qui tacet, con-*
"*sentire videtur*, He that holdeth his
"peace

Whether his silence were malicious.

"peace ſeemeth to conſent. And as
"for that you ſay, No good ſub-
"ject will refuſe to anſwer directly
"I think it verily, the duty of a
"good ſubject, except he be ſuch
"a ſubject as will be an evill
"Chriſtian, rather to obey God
"then man, to have more care of
"offending his conſcience then of
"any other matter in the world;
"eſpecially if his conſcience pro-
"cure neither heavy ſcandall nor
"ſedition to his Prince or Coun-
"trey, as mine hath not done; for
"I here proteſt unfeignedly, that
"I never revealed it to any man li-
"ving.

Obedience firſt to God, then to man.

'I now come to the third capi-
'tal matter of my Inditement,
'whereby I am accuſed, that I ma-
'liciouſly attempted, traiterouſly
'endeavoured, and perfidiouſly
'practiſed againſt this Statute as
'the words thereof affirm, becauſe
'I wrote eight ſundry packets of
'letters whilſt I was in the Tower
'unto Biſhop *Fiſher*, by which I
'exhorted him to break the ſame

3. That he never counſelled or induced B. *Fiſher*,

The contents of his letters to the said Bishop

'Law; and induced him to the like 'obstinacy. I would have these letters produced and read against 'me, which may either free me or 'convince me of a lye. But because 'you say the Bishop burnt them all 'I will here tell the truth of the 'whole matter: Some were only 'of private matters, as about our 'old friendship and acquaintance; 'one of them was in answer to his, 'whereby he desired of me to know 'how I had answered in my examinations to this Oath of Supremacy: Touching which, this only I wrote unto him again, that I 'had already setled my conscience, 'let him settle his to his own good 'liking; and no other answer I 'gave him, God is my witnesse, as 'God I hope shal save this my soul 'and this I trust is no breach of 'your Laws.

4. The law of Supremacy like a two-edged sword.

'The last objected crime is, that 'being examined in the Tower, I 'did say that this *Law* was like a 'two-edged Sword; for in consenting thereto I should endanger 'my

'my ſoul, in refuſing it, I ſhould 'loſe my life: Which anſwer, be-'cauſe Biſhop *Fiſher* made the like, 'it is evidently gathered, as you 'ſay, that we both conſpired to-'gether. Whereto I reply, that 'my anſwer there was but conditi-'onal; if there be danger in both 'either to allow or diſallow this 'Statute and therefore like a two-'edged Sword, it ſeemeth a hard 'thing, that it ſhould be offered 'to me, that never have hitherto 'contradicted it either in word, or 'deed. Theſe were my words; 'what the Biſhop anſwered, I know 'not. If his anſwer were like mine 'it procee ded not from any con-'ſpiracy of ours, but from the like-'neſſe of our wits and learning. To 'conclude, I unfeignedly avouch 'that I never ſpake word againſt 'this Law to any living man; al-'though perhaps his Majeſty hath 'been told the contrary.

To this full anſwer the Atturny replyed no more, but the word *Malice*, was in the mouth of all the

Court, but no man could produce either word or deed to prove it, yet for all this, for proof to the Jury that Sir *Thomas More* was guilty of this Treason, Mr. *Rich* was called forth to give evidence unto them upon his Oath; which he did affirming that which was spoken of before in their discourse in the Tower: against whom now sworn Sir *Thomas* began in this manner to speak: *If I were a man, my Lords, that did not regard an Oath, I needed not at this time in this place (as it is well known to you all) stand as an accused person. And if this Oath (Mr. Rich) which you have taken be true, then I pray that I may never see God in the face, which I would not say, were it otherwise to gain the whole world.*

Mr. *Rich* his Oath against Sir *Tho. More.*

Disproved by Sir *Th.* Oath tot he contrary.

Then did he recite before the Councell the whole discourse of all their communication in the Tower, according as it was truly, adding this: "In good faith Mr. *Rich* I "am more sorry for your perjury "then for mine own peril, and "know you, that neither I nor any man

His exception against the witnesse as unworthy of credit.

'mane lſe to my knowledge ever
'took you to be a man of ſuch
'credit, as that I or any other
'would vouchſafe to communicate
'with you in any matter of impor-
'tance. You know that I have
'been acquainted with your man-
'ner of life & converſation a long
'ſpace even from your youth to
'this time; for we dwelt long to-
'gether in one pariſh, whereas your
'ſelf can well tell, (I am ſorry you
'compel me to ſpeak it) you were
'alwaies eſteemed very light of
'your tongue, a great dicer and
'gameſter, and not of any commen-
'dable fame either there or at your
'houſe at the Temple, where hath
'been your bringing up. Can it
'therefore ſeem likely to your Ho-
'nourable Lordſhips, that in ſo
'weighty a cauſe I ſhould ſo unad-
'viſedly overſhoot my ſelf as to
'truſt M. *Rich*, a man alwaies re-
'puted of me for a man of ſo little
'truth and honeſty, ſo farre above
'my Soveraign Lord the King, to
'whom I am ſo deeply indebted for

'his manifold favours, or any of
'his noble and grave Counsellors
'that I would declare only to Mr
'*Rich* the secrets of my Conscience
'touching the Kings Supremacy,
'the special point & only mark so
'long sought for at my hands;
'which I never did nor ever would
'reveal after the statute once made
'either to the Kings *Highnesse* or
'to any of his noble Counsellors,
'as it is well known to your Ho-
'nours, who have been sent, for
'no other purpose, at sundry seve-
'ral times from his *Majesties* per-
'son to me in the Tower. I re'er
'it therefore to your judgments
'My Lords, whether this can seem
'a thing credible to any of you.

If it had been true there had been no Malice.

'And if I had done as Mr. *Rich*
'hath sworn, seeing it was spoken
'but in familiar secret talk affir-
'ming nothing, but only in put-
'ting of Cases, without any un-
'pleasing circumstances, it cannot
'justly be taken for Maliciously,
'and where there is no malice there
an be no offence. Besides this

'(*My*

'(My Lords) I cannot think that
'ſo many worthy Biſhops, ſo ma-
'ny honourable perſonages, and ſo
'many worſhipful, vertuous, and
'well learned men, as were in the
'Parliament aſſembled at the ma- Malice in
'king of that Law, ever meant to Law.
'have any man puniſhed by death
'in whom there could be found no
'malice, taking *Malitia* for *Male-*
'*lentia*, for if *Malitia* be taken in a
'generall ſignification for any ſin
'no man is there that can excuſe
'himſelf thereof, *Quia ſi dixerimus*
'*quod pecatum non habemus, nos metip-*
'*ſos ſeducimus, & veritas in nobis non*
'*eſt.* Wherefore this word *Mali-*
'*tiouſly* is only materiall in this
'Statute, as the word *forcible* is in
'the Statute of Forcible Entry:
'for in that Caſe if any enter pea-
'ceably and put his adverſary out
'forcibly, it is no offence; but if he
'enter forcibly, he ſhal be puniſhed
'by that Statute.

'Beſides this, the unſpeakable
'goodneſſe of the Kings Highneſſe
'towards me, who hath been ſo
'many

The improbability of Mr. *Rich's* depoſition.

'many waies my ſingular good
'Lord and gracious Sove-
'raign; He, I ſay, who hath ſo
'dearly loved and truſted me, even
'from my firſt coming into his
'Royall ſervice, vouchſafing to
'grace me with the honour of be-
'ing one of his privie Councell,
'and hath moſt liberally advanced
'to offices of great credit and wor-
'ſhip: finally with the chief dig-
'nity of his Majeſties High Chan-
'cellour, the like whereof he never
'did to any temporal man before,
'which next his Royal Perſon is
'the higheſt Office in this noble
'Realm, ſo far above my merits
'and qualities honouring and ex-
'alting me of his incomparable be-
'nignity by the ſpace of theſe
'twenty years and more, ſhewing
'his continual favours towards me;
'and now at laſt it hath pleaſed his
'Highneſſe at mine own humble
'ſuit to give me licence with his
'Majeſties favour to beſtow the re-
'ſidue of my life for the better pro-
'viſion of my ſoul in the ſervice

'of

'of God, to diſcharge and disbur-
'then me of that weighty dignity,
'before which he had ſtill heaped
'honours more and more upon me;
'all this his Highneſſe goodneſſe
'ſo liberally extended to me, were
'in my mind matter ſufficient to
'convince this ſlanderous accuſati-
'on ſo wrongfully by this man ſur-
'miſed and urged againſt me, which
'I commit to your Lordſhips ho-
'nourable conſiderations whether
'this Oath be likely to be true or
'no.

Mr. *Rich* ſeeing himſelf ſo evi- Mr. *Rich* his witneſſes do fail him.
dently diſproved, and his credit ſo foully defaced, cauſed Sir *Rich. Southwel* and Mr. *Palmer*, who in the time of their communication were in the ſame Chamber with them, to be there ſworn what words had paſſed betwixt them: whereupon Mr. *Palmer* upon his depoſition ſaid, that he was ſo buſie in the truſſing up of Sir *Thomas* his Books into a ſack that he took no heed to their talk. Sir *Rich. Southwel* ſaid likewiſe, that

becauſe

becauſe he was appointed only to look to the conveighing of the Books, he gave no ear unto them. And after this Sir *Thomas* alleadged many other reaſons in his own defence to the diſcredit of Mr. *Rich* his foreſaid evidence, and for proof of the clearneſſe of his own conſcience.

The Jury verdict, guilty.

But for all that ever he could do or ſay the Jury found him guilty. Wherefore the Lord Chancellor as chief judge in that matter began preſently to proceed to judgment; which Sir *Thomas* hearing ſaid unto him: *My Lord when I was towards the Law, the manner in ſuch Caſes was to aske the priſoner before Sentence, whether he could give any reaſon why judgment ſhould not proceed againſt him*: Upon which words the Lord Chancellor ſtaying his Sentence, wherein he had already partly proceeded, asked Sir *Thomas* what he was able to ſay to the contrary, who preſently made anſwer as followeth.

Excepted againſt by Sir *Tho.*

"Forasmuch as, my Lords, this In-

'Inditement is grounded upon an
'Act of Parliament directly repug-
'nant to the Laws of God and his
'holy Church, the Supreme Go-
'vernment of which or of any part
'thereof no Temporal perſon may
'by any Law preſume to take up-
'on him, as rightfully belonging
'to the See of *Rome*, it is therefore
'in Law among the Catholique
'Chriſtians inſufficient to charge
'any Chriſtian man to obey. He
alſo further declared for proof of
his aſſertion, that like as this Realm
'alone being but one member and
'a ſmall part of the Church, might
'not make a particular Law diſa-
'greeing with the general Law of
'the univerſal Catholique Church,
'no more then the City of *London*
'being but one poor member in
'reſpect of the whole Realm, might
'make a law againſt an Act of Par-
'liament to bind the whole Realm
'So alſo he further ſhewed that this
'law was contrary to the laws and
'ſtatutes of the land yet unrepea-
'led, as they might evidently per-
ceive

The Act of Parliament againſt Gods Law.

No Layman may be head of the Church.

Againſt the Laws of the Kingdom.

Againſt the Kings own Oath

'ceive in *Magna Charta*, where it is 'ſaid, *Quod Eccleſia Anglicana li-'bera ſit, & habeat libertates ſuas il-'læſas.* And alſo contrary to that 'ſacred Oath which the Ki. High-'neſſe himſelf and every other 'Chriſtian Prince alwaies with a 'great ſolemnity received at their 'Coronations. Alledging moreover 'that no more might this King-'dome refuſe obedience to the See 'of *Rome*, then might the child to 'his natural father.

Againſt the peculiar Obligation of *England* to *Rome*.

The Lord Chancellors reply

To theſe words the Lord Chancellor replyed, that ſeeing all the Biſhops, Univerſities, and beſt learned men of this Realm had agreed to this Act, it was much marvelled that he alone ſhould ſo ſtifly ſtick thereat, and ſo vehemently argue there againſt it. To which words Sir *Thomas* anſwered. That 'if the number of Biſhops and U-'niverſities were ſo material as his 'Lorſhip ſeemeth to make it, then 'do I, my Lord, ſee little cauſe why 'that thing in my conſcience 'ſhould make any change; for I

'do

'do not doubt but of the learned 'and vertuous men that are yet a-'live, (I ſpeak not only of this 'Realm, but of all Chriſtendome 'about) there are ten to one that 'are of my mind in this matter. But 'if I ſhould ſpeak of thoſe learned 'Doctors and vertuous Fathers 'that are already dead, of whom 'many are Saints in Heaven. I am 'ſure, that there are far more, who 'all the while they lived thought 'in this Caſe as I think now: And 'therefore, my Lord, I think my 'ſelf not bound to conform my 'conſcience to the Councell of 'one Realm againſt the generall 'conſent of all Chriſtendome.

The condemnation of Sir Th. More.

Now when Sir *Thomas* had taken as many exceptions as he thought fit, for the avoiding of this Inditement, the Lord Chancellor having bethought himſelf, being unwilling now to have the whole burthen of his condemnation to lye upon himſelf, asked openly there the advice of the Lord Chief Juſtice of *England* Sir *John* Fitz-

Fitz James, whether this Indicement were ſufficient or no, who anſwered thus: *My Lords all, by S.* Gillian (that was ever his Oath) *I muſt needs confeſſe, that if the Act of Parliament be not unlawful then in my Conſcience the indictement is not inſufficient*: Whereupon the Lord Chancellor ſaid to the reſt of the Lords, *Loe my Lords, loe, You hear what my Lord Chief Juſtice ſaith*: and ſo immediately he pronounced this Sentence.

The Sentence.

THat he ſhould be brought back to the Tower of London *by the help of* Will. Bingſton *Sheriffe, and from thence drawn on a hurdle through the City of* London *to* Tiburn, *there to be hanged till he be half dead, after that cut down yet alive, his privie parts cut off, his belly ripped, his bowels burnt, and his four quarters ſet up over four Gates of the City, his head upon* London bridge.

This-

This Sentence was by the Kings pardon changed afterwards into only beheading, becauſe he had born the higheſt Office in the Kingdome: Of which mercy of the Kings, word being brought to Sir *Thomas*, he anſwered merrily, *God forbid, the King ſhould uſe any more ſuch to any of my frien's, and God bleſſe all my poſterity from ſuch pardons.*

Mitigated by the King.

After his Sentence pronounced, the Judges courteouſly offered him, that if he had any thing elſe to alleadge in his defence, they would grant him favourable audience: who anſwered, *I have nothing to ſay, my Lords, but that, Like as the Bleſſed Apoſtle St.* Paul, *as we read of in the Acts of the Apoſtles, was preſent and conſented to the death of S.* Stephen, *and kept their cloaths that ſtoned him to death, & yet be they now both twain holy Saints in Heaven, and ſhal continue there friends for ever: So I verily truſt & ſhal therefore right heartily pray, that though your Lordſhips have*

Sir Thomas More's charity to his Judges.

been

been now judges on Earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all meet together in Heaven merrily to our everlasting salvation. And so I pray God preserve you all, and especially my Soveraign Lord the King, and send him faithful Counsellors.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

1 *The manner how Sir* THOMAS MORE *was led back to the Tower.*
2 *His daughter* Margarets *great expreſsion of love to him now condemned.*
3 *How devoutly and reſolutely Sir* T. *expected his execution.*
4 *Notice of the time of his death ſent him by the King.*
5 *The manner and form of his death.*
6 *The Kings ſadneſſe thereupon.*
7 *Phyſiognomy of Sir* THOMAS MORE.

NOw after his condemnation he was conducted from the Bar

The manner of Sir *Th.* his return to the Tower

Bar to the Tower again (an Axe being carried before with the edge towards him) and was led by Sir *William Kingſton* who was then Conſtable of the Tower and his very dear friend, who when he had brought him from *Weſtminſter* to the old Swan on his way to the Tower, he there with a ſad heart, the tears running down his cheeks took his leave of him: Sir *Thomas M.* ſeeing him ſo ſorrowful, with a cheerful countenance, began to comfort him ſaying, *Good Mr.* Kingſtone *trouble not your ſelf, but be of good chear, for I will pray for you and my good Lady your Wife, that we may meet in Heaven together, where we ſhall be merry for ever and ever.* A little after this, Sir *William* talking with Mr. *Rooper* thereof, ſaid, *In good faith Mr.* Rooper *I was aſhamed of my ſelf, that at parting with your Father, I found my heart ſo weak and his ſo ſtout, that he was fain to comfort me, who ſhou'd rather at that time have comforted him.* But a conſcience clear and at eaſe, is a comfort which

Great conſtancy, courteſie, and charity.

which no earthly power can either give or take away; the which, by his demeanour and expreſſions, it doth plainly appear he had.

A great experiment of love in the only ſon of Sir Th. More.

Now, that I may not omit, what before I ſhould have ſpoken of, I will here mention a great experiment of love in the only Son of Sir *Thomas More*, who upon his fathers landing at the old Swan like a moſt dutifull child did caſt himſelf down at his feet, humbly craving his bleſſing, not without tears whom he therefore bleſſed and kiſſed moſt lovingly.

The great paſſion of his daughter Margaret.

When Sir *Thomas More* was now come to the Tower-wharf, his beſt beloved daughter *Margaret*, wife to Mr. *Kooper*, being very deſirous to ſee her father, whom ſhe thought ſhe ſhould never ſee in this world more, diligently attended his comming at the Tower-wharf, where ſhe was certain he muſt paſs by, whom as ſoon as ſhe had eſpied (after ſhe had on her knees received his fatherly bleſſing) ſhe ran

ran haſtily unto him, and (without conſideration or care of her ſelf, paſſing through the midſt of the throng and guard, who with Bils and Halberts compaſſed him about) there openly in the ſight of them all, embraced him, took him about the neck and kiſſed him, not able to expreſſe any words but theſe: *My Father, O my Father!* He liking well this moſt naturall and dear affection of hers towards him gave her his bleſſing, and told her, *That whatſoever he ſhould ſuffer, though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, and that ſhe knew well enough all the ſecrets of his heart, counſelling her to conform her will to Gods bleſſed pleaſure, and bad her be patient for her loſſe.* From whom after ſhe was departed, ſhe not ſatisfied with the former Farewell, like one who had forgotten her ſelf raviſhed with the entire love of ſo worthy a father, having neither reſpect to her ſelf nor the preſſe of people about him, ſuddenly ran to him, took him about the neck and many

many times together moſt lovingly kiſſed him; whereat he ſpake not one word, but carrying ſtill his gravity, tears alſo fell from his eyes, nay they were but few in all the throng, who at the ſight of this could refrain from weeping, no not the guard themſelves, yet at laſt with a moſt ſorrowful heart ſhe was forced to depart from him.

O what ſingular act of affection was this, for a woman of nature baſhful, by education modeſt, to expreſſe ſuch exceſſive grief, as that love ſhould make her ſhake off all fear and ſhame! which ſad ſight piercing the hearts of the beholders, how do you think it moved the fathers! ſurely his affection and forcible love had now daunted his courage, if that a divine ſpirit of conſtancy had not inſpired him to behold this moſt generous woman his moſt worthy daughter, endued with all good gifts of Nature all ſparks of Piety, which are wont to be moſt acceptable to a loving father:

A conſideration of this mutuall paſſion of father & daughter.

father: O ſtrange: to preſſe unto him at ſuch a time and place where no man could have acceſſe, hanging about his neck ere he was aware of her, holding ſo faſt on him, as ſhe could ſcarce be plucked off, uttering no other words but, *O my Father! O my Father!* ſurely this could not but be a ſword to his heart: and then at laſt being drawn away by force, to run upon him again, without any regard either of the weapons wherewith he was encompaſſed, or of the modeſty becoming her own Sexe. What comfort did he want? what courage did he then ſtand in need of? and yet he reſiſted all this moſt valiantly, remitting nothing of his ſteady gravity, ſpeaking only what is before recited, and at laſt of all deſiring her to pray for her fathers ſoul.

How devoutly and cheerfully he attended his execution.

Sir *Tho. M.* remained in the Tower more then a ſeven-night after his judgment, arming himſelf with prayer and meditation againſt the day of his execution walking about

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he chamber with a ſheet about him like a corps ready to be buryed.

His pleaſant comceit upon a Courtier.

In which time came to him one of the Court, whoſe whole diſcourſe was nothing elſe but urging Sir *Thomas* to change his mind, who at laſt being wearied with his importunity, anſwered him *that he had changed it*; whereupon preſently he went and told the King: and being by him commanded to know wherein his mind was changed, Sir *Thomas* rebuked him for his leightneſſe, in that he would tell the King every word that he ſpoke in jeſt, meaning, *that whereas he had intended to be ſhaven that he might appear to the people as befor he was wont, now he was fully reſolved that his beard ſhould take ſuch part as his head did*: which made the Courtier blank, and the King very angry.

His laſt letter to his daughter Margaret.

Now laſt of all, the day before he was to ſuffer, being the fifth of *July*, he wrote a moſt loving letter with a coal to his daughter *Margaret*, ſending his Bleſſing to all his children, in which he wri-

teth very affectionately, expreſſing alſo the great deſire he had to ſuffer on the morrow after, in theſe words: *I cumber you good* Margaret *much, but I would be ſorry if it ſhould be any longer then to morrow, for to morrow is S.* Thomas *Even, and the* Utas *of S* Peter, *and therefore to morrow long I to go to God, it were a day very meet and convenient for mee. I never liked your manners better then when you kiſſed me laſt. For I like when daughterly love and dear charity hath no leiſure to look unto worldly courteſie. Farewel, dear daughter, pray for me, and I will pray for you and all your friends, that we may meet together in Heaven. Commend me when you can to my Son* John; *his towardly carriage towards me pleaſed me very much. God bleſſe him and his good wife and their Children.* With this Letter he ſent alſo his ſhirt of hair, and his whip, as one that was unwilling the world ſhould know that he uſed ſuch Auſterity. For in his life time he by his mirth had hidden from the eyes of others his ſeveri-

His bleſſing to his heir.

His hair-ſhirt and Diſcipline

ty

ty to himſelf.

So upon the next day being Tueſday St. *Thomas* even, and the *Octas* of his ſpecial Patron St. *Peter* (for whoſe Supremacy he ſuffered) in the year of our Lord God one thouſand five hundred thirty and ſeven (according to his deſire expreſſed in his Letter the day before) early in the morning came to him Sir *Thomas Pope* his ſingular friend, with a meſſage from the King and his Councel, that he ſhould before nine of the clock the ſame morning ſuffer death, and that therefore he ſhould preſently prepare himſelf for it. Mr. *Pope*, ſaid he, *I moſt heartily thank you for your good tidings, I have been much bound to the Kings Highneſſe for the benefits of his Honours that he hath moſt bountifully beſtowed upon me, yet am I more bound to his Grace (I aſſure you) for putting me here, where I have had convenient time and ſpace to have remembrance of my end. And, ſo help me God, moſt of all I am bound unto him that it hath pleaſed his Majeſty ſo*

Notice given him from the King of the day of his death.

Moſt welcome unto him.

ſhortly to rid me out of the miſeries of this wretched world. " *The Kings pleaſure farther is*, ſaid Sir *Thomas Pope*, *That you uſe not many words at your execution*: *Mr.* Pope, (ſaid he) *You do well to give me warning of the Kings pleaſure herein, for otherwiſe I had purpoſed at that time ſomewhat to have ſpoken, but no matter wherewith his Grace or any other ſhould have cauſe to be offended, howbeit whatſoever I intended, I am ready obediently to conform my ſelf to his Highneſſe Command: and I beſeech you good Mr.* Pope *be a means to his Majeſty, that my daughter* Margaret *may be at my burial. The King is contented already*, ſaid he, *that your wife, Children, and all other ſhould have liberty to be preſent at it. O how much beholding then am I (ſaid* Sir Thomas *) to his Grace, that unto my poor burial voucheth to have ſo gracious conſideration.*

He muſt uſe but few words at his execution.

His wife and children permitted to be at his burial.

Then *Sir Thomas Pope* taking his leave of him, could not refrain from weeping, which Sir *Thomas* perceiving comforted him in theſe words: *Quiet your ſelf good Mr.* Pope, and

His comfortable courage.

and be not diſcomforted, for I truſt we ſhall once ſee each other full merrily, where we ſhall be ſure to live and love together in joyful bliſſe eternally. And further to put him out of his melancholy, Sir *Thomas* took his Urinal in his hand, and caſting his water ſaid merrily: *I ſee no danger but that this man might live longer, if it had pleaſed the King.*

After which words, they parted, and when he was gone, Sir *Thomas* (as one that had been invited to a banquet) changed himſelf into his beſt apparel. The Lieutenant of the Tower ſeeing him prepare himſelf to his death, adviſed him for his own benefit to put them off again, ſaying, he who was to have them was but a Javel. *What Mr. Lieutenant,* ſaid Sir Thomas, *ſhall I account him a Javel, who will do me this day ſo ſingular a benefit? Nay I aſſure you were it cloth of Gold, I would think it well beſtowed on him.* But the Lieutenant ſo preſſed him, that at laſt for his friendſhipſake being loth to deny him ſo ſmall a

He puts on his beſt apparell that day.

His liberality to his executioner.

matter, he altered his apparel, and put on a Gown of Freeſe, but yet of that little money that was left him, he ſent an Angel in gold to his Executioner, in token that he maliced him nothing, but rather loved him exceedingly for it.

The manner of his death.

And ſo was he brought about nine of the clock out of the Tower, and from thence led to the place of execution, where going up the ſcaffold, which ſeemed to him ſo weak that was ready to fal, he ſaid merrily to the Lieutenant, *I pray you Mr. Lieutenant ſee me ſafe up, and for my coming down let me ſhift for my ſelf.* Then deſired he all the people to pray for him, and to bear witneſſe with him that he ſhould then ſuffer death, in, and for the faith of the holy Catholique Church, a faithful ſervant both of God and the King. Which done, he kneeled down, and after his prayers ended, he turned to the Executioner, and with a chearful countenance, ſaid, *Pluck up thy ſpirits, man, and be not afraid*

His words at his death.

His prayers.

Words to the Executioner.

fraid to do thine office: my neck is very ſhort, take heed therefore thou ſtrike not awry for ſaving thine honeſty: when the executioner would have covered his eyes, he ſaid, *I will cover them my ſelf,* and preſently he did ſo with a cloth he had brought with him for that purpoſe: then laying his head upon the Block, he bad the Executioner ſtay untill he had removed aſide his beard, ſaying, *That that had never committed any treaſon.* So with great alacrity and ſpiritual joy he received the fatall blow of the Axe, which at once ſevered his head from his body: Thus paſſed Sir *Thomas More* out of this world on the very ſame day on which himſelf had moſt deſired.

He covereth his eyes himſelf,

His death

When news of his death was brought to the King, who was at that time playing at Tables, Queen *Anne* looking on, he caſt his eyes upon her, and ſaid, *Thou art the cauſe of this mans death*: and preſently leaving his play, he betook himſelf to his chamber, an there fell

The K. ſadneſſe at the news of his execution.

into a melancholy fit. But whether this were from his heart, or to ſeem leſſe cruell then he was indeed, it is hard to conjecture; for on the one ſide, the remembrance of his faithful ſervice ſo many years employed for the good of the whole Kingdome, could not but make the Kings heart ſomwhat to relent; and on the other ſide, his unmerciful dealing with his ſon and heir, his ſmall allowance to his wife, his cruelty againſt all his children, ſhewed that he had an implacable hatred againſt him for the cauſe aforeſaid. His daughter *Margaret* was the moſt gently dealt with, and yet very ſore threatned both becauſe ſhe kept her fathers head for a relique, (which being to be thrown off *London-Bridge* into the Thames ſhe had procured) and that ſhe intended to publiſh her fathers works, yet for all that after a ſhort impriſonment ſhe was at laſt ſent home to her huſband.

The impriſonment of his daughter *Margaret*.

Sir *Thomas More* was of a mean ſtature, well proportioned, his complexion

complexion tending to phlegmatick, his colour white and pale, his hair neither black nor yellow, but between both, his eies gray, his countenance amiable and chearful, his voice neither big nor ſhrill, but ſpeaking plainly and diſtinctly; it was not very tunable, though he delighted much in muſick, his body reaſonable healthful, only that towards his latter end by uſing much writing, he complained much of his breaſt. In his youth he drank much water wine he only taſted of when he pledged others, he loved ſalt meats, eſpecially poudred beef, he was a great lover of milk, cheeſe, eggs, and fruit, and uſually he did eat of brown bread, which he rather uſed to puniſh his taſte, then any love he had unto it.

The favour and phyſiognomy of Sir *Thomas More*.

The judgment of *Charles* the fifth Emperour and King of *Spain* concerning Sir *Th. More's* death.

Now when intelligence of Sir *Thomas More*'s death was brought to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, he ſent for Sir *Thomas Eliot* Embaſſador there reſident, and ſaid unto him, My Lord Embaſſador; we

underſtand that the King your Maſter hath put his faithful Servant and grave Wiſe Counſellor Sir *Thomas More* to death: but Sir *Thomas Eliot* ſeeming to excuſe the matter by ſome doubt of the report, the King told him, It was too true, and this will we ſay, (ſaid the Emperour) that if we had been Maſter of ſuch a Servant, (of whoſe doings our ſelves have had theſe many years no ſmall experience) we would rather have loſt the beſt and ſtrongeſt City of our Dominions, then have loſt ſo worthy a Counſellor.

Circumſtances worthy ſome conſideration in his death.

To conclude, if with more care we look into the ſtory of this worthy mans life, it will not appear to us that his death could any way redound to the honour of the King: for firſt he was put to death by a ſtatute wherein he had never offended, either by word or deed; and that too, which concern'd not temporal policy but religion only: which (as being fearful to offend his conſcience) though he refuſed to approve of himſelf, yet did he

he never reprove it, or any other man for taking it. Secondly, that he would have no respect unto his eminent qualities, who was a man of known humanity, of mild behaviour, affability, bounty, eloquence wisdome, innocency of life, wit, learning, exceedingly beloved and admired of all men: all which might be motives sufficient to pardon a guilty offender. Thirdly, that he would not consider him that had done him so much good service, and the whole Kingdome such good offices, his faithfull Counsellor for twenty years together; his wise Embassador, his just Lord Chancellor, and indeed the very flower of the Kingdome, who at last drawing towards old age, obtained an honourable dismission from his Office, and lived privately at home with his Wife, children, and nephews, never committing the least offence against any, burthensome to no man, but of such courtesie to all, and of such excellency of nature, that he

he would not ſuffer any one to part from him, (if any thing qualified) without ſome gift; none was ſo great a ſtranger to him whom he would not ſeek to do ſome favour for. To be ſhort, his bounty had ſo engraven him in every ones hearts that at his death there was a generall lamentation for his loſſe; Nay *Eraſmus* ſaith, that he ſaw tears come from thoſe men who never had ſeen Sir *Thomas More*, nor received any benefit from him; and he profeſſes, that while he was writing of him, the tears guſhed from him whether he would or no. Now Reader I will keep thy eye no longer upon this doleſull Subject, which as it made the Spectators weep, ſo it cannot but fetch a Tear or two from thee', if thou art any friend to an innocent worth, yet I would not ſend thee away ſad neither: wherefore I have (after this Tragicall ſto-

ry

ry) prepared an entertainment in the following Chapter, which looks like a Comedy, and may ſerve as Wine and Bisket at a Funerall, to allay thy ſadneſſe.

A view

A view of Sir THOMAS MORE's *Wit and Wiſdome.*

A witty reprehenſion.

SIR *Thomas More*, (whoſe only merry jeſts and witty ſayings, were they all together, were ſufficient to fill a Volume) when he lived in the City of *London*, being one of the Juſtices of peace, he uſed to go to the Seſſions at *Newgate*; where it fell out, that one of the antienteſt Juſtices of the Bench was wont to chide the poor men, (whoſe purſes had been cut) for not being more careſull, telling them that their negligence was the cauſe that ſo many Cutpurſes were brought thither: which, when Sir *Thomas More* obſerved him ſo often to repeat, at one time eſpecially, the night after

ter he ſent for one of the chief Cut-purſes that was in priſon, and promiſed him to ſave him harmleſſe, and ſtand his friend too, if he would cut the foreſaid Juſtices purſe, the next day as he ſat on the Bench, and then preſently make a ſign of it to him. The fellow very gladly promiſeth him to do it: The next day therefore when they ſat again, that thief was called among the firſt, who being accuſed of his fact, ſaid, That he did not doubt but he could ſufficiently excuſe himſelf, if he were permitted to ſpeak to ſome of the Bench in private, he was therefore bid to chooſe one, whom he would, and preſently he choſe that grave old man, who then had his Pouch at his girdle, (as they wore them in thoſe daies) and whileſt he whiſpered him in the ear, he cunningly cuts his purſe, and then ſolemnly taking his leave, returnt to his place: Sir *Thomas* knowing by a private ſign that the buſineſſe was diſpatched, preſently took

occa-

occaſion to move the Bench to diſtribute ſome almes upon a poor needy fellow that was there, and for good example, began himſelf to do it, when the old man came to open his purſe, he ſees it cut away, and, much wondring, ſaid, he was confident he brought it with him when he came thither that morning: Sir *Thomas* replyed pleaſantly, What? will you charge any of us with felony? but his choler riſing, and he being aſhamed of the thing, Sir *Thomas* cals the Cutpurſe and bids him give him his purſe again, and withal adviſed the good old Juſtice hereafter not to be ſo bitter a cenſurer of innocent mens negligence, when as himſelf could not ſecure his purſe in that open aſſembly.

An unmannerly reprehenſion, mannerly returned on the reprehender.

Another time, when he was Lord Chancellor, one of the houſe of the *Manors*, whom the King had then lately preferr'd to a great Honour, who before that had been a great friend of Sir *Thomas More*, but, perceiving now that the world began

began ſomwhat to frown upon him, becauſe he was not ſo forward as other men to perſwade the King to the Divorce, and being deſirous to pick ſome quarrel againſt him, he ſaid unto him, *My Lord, Honores mutant Mores.* Sir *Thomas* readily replyed, *It is ſo indeed, my Lord, but Mores, ſignifieth in engliſh Manners, not More*: he was with this ſo put out of countenance that he had nothing more to ſay.

A bold debter handſomly told his own.

So alſo, he wittily twitted another to whom he had lent money, of whom when afterwards he demanded his due, he bad him remember he muſt die, and God knew how ſoon; and, that then he would have little uſe of money, adding the ſentence in Latine, the better to pleaſe Sir *Thomas*, *Momento Morieris*: to which Sir *Thomas* preſently replyed: *What ſay you Sir, Me thinks you put your ſelf in mind of your duty herein, ſaying* Memento Mori æris, *remember* Mores *money*:

It

A pleaſant arbitrament between his Lady and a begger.

It hapned on a time that a beggars little Dog which ſhe had loſt was ſent to the Lady *More* for a Preſent, and ſhe had kept it about a week very carefully, but at laſt, the beggar having notice where her dog was; preſently came and complained to Sir *Thomas* as he was ſitting in his Hall, that his Lady kept her dog from her. Preſently my Lady was ſent for, and the dog brought with her, which Sir *Thomas* taking in his armes, he cauſed his Wife to ſtand at the upper end of his Hall, and the begger at the lower end, and then, (ſaying that he ſat there to do every one juſtice) he bad each of them call the dog; which when they did, the dog ran preſently to the begger, forſaking his Lady; When he ſaw this, he bad his Wife be contented, for it was none of hers, yet, ſhe repining at his ſentence, agreed with the beggar, and gave her a piece of Gold; ſo all parties were ſatisfied every one ſmiling at this ſtrange diſco-

diſcovery of truth.

Another time a certain friend of his taking great pains about a Book which he intended to publiſh, (being well conceited of his own wit, which no body elſe thought worth commendation) and becauſe he would Sir *Thomas* ſhould overſee it, ere it were printed, he brought it to him, who peruſing it, and finding no thing therein worthy the Preſſe, ſaid with a grave countenance, *If it were in verſe, it were more worth:* upon which words, he went and turned it into verſe, and then brought it to Sir *Thomas*, who looking thereon, ſaid ſoberly: *Yea marry, now it is ſomewhat; for now it is Rhime, before it was neither Rhime, nor Reaſon.* A witty cenſure of a witleſſe writing.

And indeed whatſoever jeſt he brought forth, he never laughed at any himſelf, but ſpoke them ſo ſeriouſly, that few could diſcern by his look, whether he were in earneſt or in jeſt; as, once talking with another in diſpute of his *Dialogues* A merry miſtake.

logues, by ſome occaſion they happened to ſpeak of a dog's turd; at that very inſtant one of his men came to tell him, that dinner was ready, to whom he ſaid, Look that there be better meat provided for us then that: who preſently went and told his Lady, that his Lord would have better meat provided for his dinner; which cauſed a great diſturbance in the houſe till at laſt the miſtake being known they all fell a laughing.

Some few of Sir THO. MORE's Apophthegms, collected out of Dr. Stapleton.

A Sinner ſaith he cannot taſte ſpiritual delights; becauſe all carnall are firſt to be abandoned. Sinners diſtaſted.

By an excellent ſimilitude, he teacheth us why few do fear death, thus: Even as they which look upon things afar off, ſee them confuſedly, not knowing whether they be men or trees; even ſo he that promiſeth unto himſelf long life, looketh upon death, as a thing afar off, not judging what it is, how terrible, what griefs and dangers it brings with it; & that none ought to promiſe himſelf long life, he proveth thus: even as two men that are brought out of Priſon to the gallows, one by a long way about the other by a direct ſhort path yet Why few fear death. No man ſure of long life.

yet neither knowing which is which untill they come to the gallows, neither of theſe two can promiſe himſelf longer life, by reaſon of the uncertainty of the way: even ſo a young man cannot promiſe himſelf longer life then an old mã.

World's vanity.

Againſt the vanity of worldly honour, he ſpeaketh thus: Even as that Criminal perſon, who is led to execution ſhortly, ſhould be accounted vain, if he ſhould engrave his Coat of Arms upon the priſon Gate: even ſo are they vain, who endeavour to leave with great induſtry, monuments of their dignity in the priſon of this world.

Worldly loſſes hurt not.

By a ſubtile Dilemma, he teacheth us why we are not to think that we can be hurt, by the loſſe of our ſuperfluous goods, in this manner: He that ſuffereth any loſſe of his goods, he would either have beſtowed them with praiſe and liberality; and ſo God wil accept his will in ſtead of the deed it ſelf: or elſe he would have waſted them wickedly; and then he hath cauſe to rejoyce, that the

matter

matter of ſinning is taken away.

The folly of old miſers.

To expreſs lively the folly of an old covetous man, he writeth thus: A thief that is to dye to morrow, ſtealeth to day, & being asked why he did ſo, he anſwered, that it was great pleaſure to him to be maſter of that money but one night; So an old miſer, never ceaſeth to increaſe his heap of coin though he be never ſo aged.

How fond it is to love this world.

He ſaid alſo, that thoſe which give themſelves to pleaſure and idleneſſe in the time of their pilgrimage, are like to him who travelling to his own houſe, where there is abundance of all things, would yet be an hoſtler in an Inne by the way for to get an Inne-keepers favour, and to end his life there in a ſtable.

Affliction more profitable then pleaſure.

Pleaſure (ſaith he) doth not only withdraw wicked men from prayer, but alſo affliction ſometimes; yet this is the difference, that affliction doth ſometime wreſt ſome ſhort prayer from the wicked'ſt men alive, but pleaſure calleth

calleth away even one that is indifferent good, from all prayer.

Againſt deferring of amendment.

Againſt impenitent perſons, and ſuch as defer the amending of their lives till the latter end of their daies, he ſaith thus: A lewd fellow that had ſpent all his life in wickedneſſe, was wont to brag, that he could be ſaved, if he ſpoke but three words at the hour of his death: Riding over a bridge that was broken, his horſe ſtumbling, and not being able to keep himſelf from falling into the water, when he ſaw himſelf paſt recovery, caſting away the bridle he ſaid, The Devill take all, and ſo with his three words he periſhed in the river.

Puſillanimity a dangerous temptation.

Even as he that paſſeth over a narrow bridg by reaſon of his fear often falleth, eſpecially if others ſay unto him, you fall, which otherwiſe he would ſafely paſſe over: even ſo he that is fearful by nature and full of puſillanimity, often falleth into deſperation, the Devill cryiag unto him, thou art damned,

damned, thou art damned; which he would never hearken to, nor be in any danger of, if he ſhould take unto him a good heart, and by wholſom counſell nothing fear the Devils outcry.

The proſperity of this world is like the ſhorteſt winters day, and we are lifted up in it as an arrow ſhot up on high, where a hot breath doth delight us: but from thence we fal ſuddenly to the earth and there we ſtick faſt, either bemired with the dirt of infamy, or ſtarving with cold, being pluckt out of our feathers. Danger of proſperity.

It is a hard thing to touch pitch and not be defiled therewith: a dry ſtick to be put into the fire and not to burn, to nouriſh a Snake in our boſome, and not be ſtung with it: ſo a moſt hard thing it is, to be rich and Honoured in this world, and not to be ſtruck with the dart of pride and vain glory. Of riches and honours.

Let there be two beggars who a long time begged together: one

All riches of this world none of our own.

of whom ſome rich man hath entertained in his houſe, put him in ſilk, given him money in his purſe: but with this condition, as he tels him, within a ſhort ſpace he will thruſt him out of his doors and take all that away from him again: if he in the mean while being thus gallant ſhould chance to meet with his fellow begger would he be ſo fooliſh as for all this not to acknowledge him for his companion? or would he for theſe few daies happineſſe hold himſelf better then he? Applying this to every mans caſe, who cometh naked into this world, and is to return naked again.

Covetouſneſſe.

He compareth Covetouſneſſe to a fire, which, by how much the more wood there is laid on it to burn, ſo much apter it is to burn more ſtill.

Bad Merchants.

That there are many in this life that buy hell with more toil, than heaven might be wonne with half.

If he be called ſtout, that hath fortitude, he hot, who hath heat, wiſe that hath Wiſdome, yet he who hath riches cannot be ſaid preſently to be good, therefore riches cannot be numbred among good things. Twenty, yea a hundred bare heads ſtanding by a Noble man, do not defend his head from cold ſo much as his own hat doth alone, which yet he is enforced to put off in the preſence of his Prince. Riches are not goods

That is the worſt affection of the mind which doth delight us in that thing which cannot be gotten but by offending God. He that doth get or keep worldly wealth by offending God, let him fully perſwade himſelf, that thoſe things will never do him good, either God will quickly take away ill-gotten goods, or will ſuffer them to be kept for a greater miſchief. The worſt affection.

Even as he that knoweth certainly he is to be baniſht into a ſtrange Countrey, never to return into his own again, and will not Almes-deeds.

dure that his goods be transported thither being loth to want them, for that little while rather then ever to enjoy them after, may well be thought a mad man: so are they out of their wits, who inticed with vain affections to keep their goods alwaies about them, and negligtive to give almes for fear of wanting, cannot endure to have their goods sent before them to Heaven, when as they know most assuredly, that they shall enjoy them alwaies there, with all plenty and with a double reward.

The world a prison.

To ease his thoughts when he was in prison, he imagined that all the world was but a prison, out of which every day some one or other was called to execution.

To suffer for God.

He said it was an easie matter in some cases for a man to lose his head, and yet to have no harm at all.

Prayer.

He prayed thus: O Lord God, grant that I endeavour to get those things, for which I am to

pray

pray unto Thee.

When he heard any at his Table ſpeaking detraction, he would interrupt them thus; Let any man think as he pleaſeth, I like this room very well for it is well contrived and fairly built. Detraction.

Of an ungrateful perſon he would ſay, that they wrote good turns done unto them in the duſt; but even the leaſt injuries in marble. Ingratitude.

He compared reaſon to a handmaid, which if ſhe be well taught will obey, and Faith to the Miſtreſſe, which is to keep her in awe *Captivans intellectum in obſequium Fidei.* Faith the miſtreſſe of reaſon.

He ſaith that he were a mad man that would drink poyſon to take a preſervative after it; but he's a wiſe man, that ſpilling the poiſon leaveth the Antidote for him, that hath need thereof. Better prevent then redreſſe.

He was wont to ſay that he may well be admitted to Heaven who was very deſirous to ſee God; but on the contrary ſide, he that doth Deſire of heaven.

not deſire earneſtly, ſhall never be admitted thither.

Bad life no miracle.

That people ſhould fal into bad life and luſt is, as great a miracle, he ſaith, as ſtones to fall downwards.

School Divinity.

Whereas he ſaith, you inveigh againſt School Divinity, becauſe truth is there called in doubt not without danger, we inveigh againſt you, becauſe falſe matters are held by you undoubtedly for truth it ſelf.

Now

NOw becauſe there is an Engliſh Chronologer that terms him a ſcoffing man, becauſe his writings and doings were full of witty jeſts, calling him a wiſe fooliſh man; or a fooliſh wiſe man: I think it very fit to ſet down in this place, the reaſon (out of his own writings) why he hath uſed ſo many pleaſant paſſages in his books, it is this, "Even as ſome "ſick men (ſaith he) will take no "medecines unleſſe ſome pleaſant "thing be put among their poti-"ons, although perhaps it be "ſomewhat hurtful, yet the Phy-"ſitian ſuffereth them to have it: "So, becauſe many will not wil-"lingly hearken to ſerious and "grave documents, except they "be mingled with ſome fable or "jeſt, therefore reaſon willeth us to do the like. And in his great volume, page 1048 he ſaith, "tha

An Apologie for Sir Tho. M pleaſantneſſe of wit.

"that jests are as it were sawce
"whereby we are recreated, that
"we may eat with more appetite:
"but as that were an absurd Ban-
"quet in which there were few di-
"shes of meat, and much variety
"of sawces, and that an unpleasant
"one, where there were no sawce
"at all, even so that life were spent
"idly, where nothing were but
"mirth and jollity, and again,
"that tedious and uncomfortable
"wherein no pleasure or mirth
"were to be expected, Which
mirth as it may well become all
men, so most especially did it be-
come such a one as Sir *Thomas* M.
being a marryed man, nay a Cour-
tier and companion to his Prince,
of whom I suppose that may wor-
thily be spoken which *Titus Liv-*
ius reporteth of *Cato*, thus: In this
man there was such excellency of
wit and wisdome, that he seemeth
to have been able to make his for-
tune, in what place soever he had
been born: he wanted no skill ei-
ther for the managing of private

or publique buſineſſes, he was experienced both in Countrey and City affairs: ſome are raiſed to honour either becauſe they are excellent Lawyers, ſingularly eloquent, or of admirable vertues, but the towardlineſſe of this mans underſtanding, framed him ſo to all employments, that you would ſuppoſe him for to be born for one alone: In the practiſe of vertues you would judg him rather a *Monk* then a Courtier, in learning a moſt famous writer; if you would ask his counſell in the Law, he was moſt ready to adviſe you the beſt; if he were to make an Oration, he would ſhew wonderfull eloquence: he was admirable in all kind of Learning, Latine, Greek, Prophane, Divine: if there were an Embaſſie to be undertook none more expert to finiſh it: in giving ſolid and ſound counſell in doubtful Caſes, none more prudent; to tel the truth without fear, none more free: as farre from all flattery, as he was open and pleaſant,

ſant, full of grace in delivering his judgment; and that which *Cato* had not, he was moſt happy in: For *Livie* ſaith, that he had a ſowre behaviour, and a tongue immoderately free and full of taunting, but Sir *Thomas* was mild, and of an humble heart, neither ſad nor turbulent, and beſides of a pleaſant converſation, never ſtern, but (out of zeal) for his Religion, a great contemner either of unlawful pleaſures, or of inordinate riches and glory. And as *Cato* had much enmity with divers Senators, ſo many of them on the other ſide did exerciſe his patience, that one can hardly diſcern whether the nobility did preſſe him more, or he the nobility, but on the contrary, Sir *Thomas More* never had any private or publique grudge with any man nay ſurely no man can ſuppoſe any to have been his enemy, being born wholly to friendſhip and affability, and as he was nothing inferiour to *Cato* for gravity, integrity and innocency (being as exact

act a hater of all vice, and as ſtern to all wicked men as he) ſo did he farre excell him in meekneſſe, ſweetneſſe of behaviour and pleaſantneſſe of wit: nay I fear I do him too much injury to compare him with any the beſt of morall Philoſophers, who was indued with ſuch ſupernaturall perfections, and (no doubt) notwithſtanding his judgment, high in the favour of God.

1703

FINIS.